"Votes for Women," November 8, 1912. *Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.*

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 244. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1912. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

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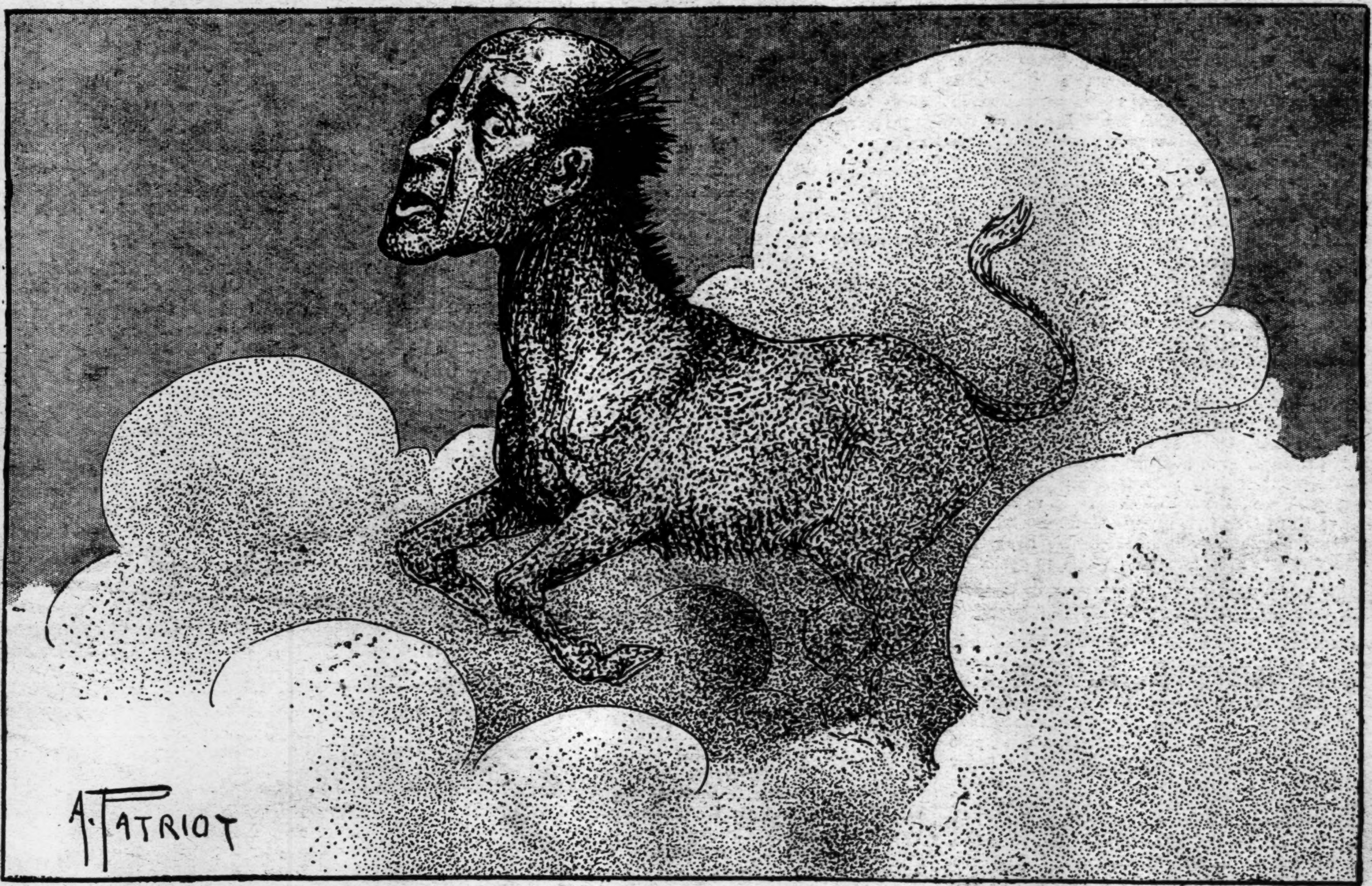
PERIODICAL DIVISION

"THE DISAPPEARING DONKEY"

(With apologies to Messrs. Maskelyne and Devant.)



"Fortunately, by the tactful and self-effacing management of the Home Secretary, the lecture itself was delivered without interruption."—*(From the report in the "Westminster Gazette" of a lecture in the Holborn Hall, last Monday, at which the Chairman, Mr. McKenna, was completely silenced by Suffragists, and finally made his escape through the backdoor.—See page 91.)*

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

In the House of Commons on Tuesday night the division was taken on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill to include women in the electorate by substituting the Local Government Register for the List of Parliamentary Electors. The amendment was defeated by 314 votes to 141—majority 173. The Government Whips told against the amendment, and the whole of the Irish Party and practically the whole of the Liberal Party voted against it. Of the Labour Party about twenty-eight voted for the amendment and five against; but in the subsequent division, "that the clause not amended so as to include women should form part of the Bill," the position was reversed, only Mr. Snowden and five others voting against the clause, the remainder of the Party supporting the Government.

A Perfidious House

By this vote, given in the teeth of the definite pledges to women of an overwhelming majority of Members, the House of Commons has proved itself not merely perfidious, but totally unfit to have entrusted to it the destinies of the nation. Each section of the Coalition comes badly out of the division list, the Irish for their barefaced opposition, the Liberals for their cowardly subservience to the Party Whips, the Labour Party for their weak-kneed action. That the Labour Party should have left the question an open one to its members, and that five out of so small a Party should have actually voted against the amendment, proves that Woman Suffrage is not regarded as a genuine plank in the Party platform in the same sense that the Bill for the Reversal of the Osborne Judgment and other Labour measures are regarded. Moreover, it is perfectly clear that had the division been a really close one, the favourite bogey about "letting the Tories in" would have been invoked and the Party would have cut a still worse figure in the division.

How Some Women Regard It

The National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies held a meeting the same night in the Albert Hall. Mrs. Fawcett, after eulogising the Balkan forces in the present war, and the gallant fight of Garibaldi which won the freedom of Italy, proceeded to say that in the tremendous conflict for the freedom of women she and her society were going to confine themselves to law-abiding methods. The "sword of the flesh" which they proposed to use was the support of the Labour Party at by-elections. To us it seems inconceivable that any self-respecting women, after the perfidiousness displayed in the House of Commons, can stoop to such an attitude of pusillanimity.

A Nobler Spirit

A sterner answer was given by the women who, taking hammers in their hands, deliberately broke window after window in the fashionable thoroughfares of Bond Street and Oxford Street, and damaged others at the offices of the National Health Insurance Commission in Buckingham Gate. Four were arrested, and at Bow Street Police Court on Wednesday two of these were remanded and two who were fined with the alternative of fourteen days' imprisonment chose the alternative and went to prison. Such action by women is fully justified by the callousness of the citizens of the country towards the way in which politicians are trifling with their claims. We believe that action of this kind will have the effect which nothing else could have, of forcing men and women to think. And when they think they will act, and when they act they will see that justice is done.

The Trouncing of the Home Secretary

Mr. Reginald McKenna richly deserved the moral castigation administered to him on Monday night by a body of Woman Suffragists. He who has not hesitated to employ torture in our English prisons in order to try to crush the spirit of liberty in men and women, went to the Holborn Hall to prate about the relation of the Press to public morals. He found himself confronted by a large number of women in the audience who determined that his speech should not be delivered. After several vain attempts to obtain a hearing he beat a retreat, ignominiously making an exit by a tortuous labyrinth of back passages.

Selling Up "The Mascot"

The Government have played their move in the attack upon the Editors of this paper. On Thursday last the furniture and contents of The Mascot, Mr. Pethick Lawrence's country house at Holmwood, were sold up and a sum of about £300 was made by the auction, of which over £50 will go in expenses. As the original claim of the Treasury was for £890, and there is a further sum of over £200 demanded on behalf of the prosecution witnesses, it will be seen that the greater part of the judgment is still unsatisfied. We therefore await further developments. In the meanwhile, we call attention to an important article in the *Financial News*, which we reproduce elsewhere (page 91), in which the injustice of the present condition of the law is pointed out. It is a case of "heads you win and tails I lose" so far as the prisoner is concerned. For if he proves himself innocent he cannot claim compensation for the expenses of his defence, but if he is adjudged guilty he can be called upon to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as his own.

The Re-arrest of Gladys Evans

Anything more revolting or inhuman than the conduct of the Government with regard to Gladys Evans it would be difficult to conceive. We learn that for the second time she has been re-arrested and remanded in custody. The Government know perfectly well that she means to continue to refuse to regard herself as a ticket-of-leave criminal. Their policy is like that of the cat in torturing the mouse. She is imprisoned, and, adopting the hunger strike, reaches the point of death; then she is released. She is re-arrested, and the awful drama is re-enacted. Then for a third time it is repeated. Such mediæval methods are absolutely abominable. We hope that everyone who has a tongue with which to speak or a pen with which to write will blazon these facts abroad.

A Staffordshire Strike

Workers in the Staffordshire Hollow-ware trade are out on strike. That trade includes women as well as men. Next week we shall publish an article by our special correspondent, who is investigating in the strike area. Until a few months ago numbers of women tinkered and soldered buckets, kettles, pots and pans from early morning till late at night for the princely wage of 1d. an hour. They have now struck for a minimum wage of 10s. and a week of fifty-four hours. Their demand is resisted by Staffordshire employers, who are of opinion that 7s. a week for women is ample. A Kaffir living on a compound will not work for 1s. a day, but in this country, where white women are systematically underpaid, and where the Government sets the example of systematically sweating their labour, women are expected to pay rent, buy food and fuel, clothing, and practice thrift, and provide against sickness, unemployment, and insurance on a wage of 1s. a day. "The working conditions of hundreds of thousands of working women ought to make us ashamed of our species," says the official organ of a Parliamentary Labour Party which does not make "Votes for Women" an essential plank in its platform. We agree. We are ashamed, above all, of our species of politicians!

This Week's Paper

This week has been full of important happenings from the woman's point of view, and the contents of Votes for Women acquire an additional interest in consequence. We call attention particularly to the accounts of recent window-breaking in the West End and elsewhere, and of the protests made at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, to the description of the Sale at The Mascot, and to Miss Beatrice Harraden's striking story of a Cabinet Minister's meeting. A dramatic account of the Balkan women by "J. E. M. B." will be found on page 83, and on the same page is a summary of the recent Municipal Elections in London. We also draw our readers' attention to the report of the case (on page 92) heard last Friday at Bow County Court, in which an action was brought for damages against Liberal stewards by a Liberal who was ejected from Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Woodford, last June. As the Judge has reserved judgment, and the case is still *sub judice*, we confine ourselves to comments upon the fact that no attempt was made to deny the plaintiff's statement of the assault made upon him, and that the defence was based solely upon a legal point.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

The breath of the new spirit that has awakened women and is every day arousing them to a sense of solidarity hitherto unrealised, has been compared to the influence of the returning spring upon the earth. Just as the evidence of the rising life-tide is manifested in leaf and blossom so manifold and lavish as to be inexhaustible, so in the Woman's Movement there is a vitality and energy that answers to every call, and is sufficient for every new undertaking.

A fresh proof of this force of energy has been given during the past few days in the response that has been made to my appeal in Votes for Women. The suggestion given last week was that the readers of this paper should enter into a common bond of organised fellowship for the purpose of giving full expression to the awakened militant spirit of womanhood; that they should associate themselves in various plans for carrying the message far and wide, until in every town and village of this land women realise that they are a living part of a spiritually militant sisterhood that is at war under the triple banner of liberty, compassion, and purity against every form of evil dominance.

It is especially right and fitting that this new fellowship should be a first outcome of the mental upheaval of the past few weeks that has been felt to the deepest foundation of many a life that is bound up with the militant Movement. In the stress and strain of a situation calculated to stir emotion and to arouse passion, it is a marked sign of the strength and the self-restraint in the Woman's Movement that no destruction of any kind whatever has been wrought by word or action on our part. In this robust and virile Movement divergence upon matters of conscience or upon matters of opinion concerning political expediency is but evidence of mental vitality bringing accession of faith and will-power to the individual, bringing also ideas hitherto undiscovered and undeveloped into play, and new constructive forces into operation.

There is room in positive and constructive association for every kind of personality, every order of mind, every degree of enthusiasm, and every sort of gift or capacity for work. And that is why we shall develop week by week the possibilities and scope of further organisation. The Votes for Women Fellowship is at present like a tiny seedling, vigorous and healthy, which carries within it an almost boundless possibility of development. It enters into no rivalry or competition with any other growth. It has all the world in which to spread itself. The immediate object of the Fellowship is that the members of it should bind themselves together for the purpose of increasing the influence and extending the circulation of the paper Votes for Women.

On the business side there is a great work before us. From the day when my husband and I first founded the paper, five years ago, we have set before ourselves a very high standard of efficiency. Every advance which the paper made in circulation and advertisement revenue was taken advantage of not to make the paper completely self-supporting, but to develop and improve it in other ways. When therefore a few weeks ago the W.S.P.U. handed over control of it, the paper, in spite of having a circulation far larger than any other Suffrage paper (or, in fact, we believe, than any similar paper devoted to a movement), was losing a sum of between £1,000 and £2,000 a year. It is the intention of the Editors to retain and even to improve upon the high ideal of the past. All financial assistance given to the paper will therefore be used to develop and improve it, and to extend its influence. If, however, at any time the paper should become self-supporting and able to yield a profit, such profit will be devoted entirely to the Suffrage Movement.

The Editors give their services without financial return of any kind. This lends them the moral right to call upon those who share their ideals to give all the money, all the genius and ability, all the leisure, and the service which they can afford to devote. There are many ways in which help can be given. They fall into three main divisions :—

(*a*) Personal service.
(*b*) Political and social influence.
(*c*) Financial support.

Personal Service

Under personal service can be found a long list of methods in which members can co-operate according to their gifts and capacities in extending the circulation of the paper. This can be done :—

1. By ordering several copies weekly and selling them and giving them to friends.
2. By sale outside the doors of public meetings where women congregate.
3. By sale at street pitches which are centres of public traffic.
4. By house to house sale.
5. By presenting weekly copies of the paper to public libraries, the waiting rooms of physicians, or the reading-room of hotels.
6. By interviewing newsagents and managers of newspaper shops, and inducing them to show the posters and expose copies of the paper for sale.
7. By co-operating to form a small inspection committee for every locality where posters are shown and delegating the work of inspecting and reporting to a voluntary inspector or to voluntary inspectors.
8. By organising poster parades.
9. By organising drawing-room meetings and public meetings, to be addressed by members of the Fellowship.
10. By offering personal service as speakers at drawing-room meetings or public meetings.

In addition to all these methods of active service the Editors ask the members to co-operate with them by calling their attention to the many cases of terrible injustice and cruelty to women that are brought to light in local newspapers.

Financial Support

Financial support can be given in various ways. Direct contributions to the Poster Fund will be heartily welcomed. We should like to see our decorative and arresting Contents Bill in every street of every city and in every village and every hamlet. Wherever its message is delivered, the awakening call will be given and men and women will be aroused to think, and new adherents will be made. Another financial service, by no means slight or small, is the loyal support of those firms which are advertised in our columns.

These services, briefly enumerated, form the immediate practical basis of the Votes for Women Fellowship. The organisation by which these schemes are to be carried out has yet to be built up, and week by week progress will be reported and the development of ideas will be unfolded. The readers and friends who are ready to answer to our call for closer co-operation should send in their names to me at once at the new Editorial and Publishing Offices of Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

In common service and mutual co-operation we shall be enabled to communicate to the world something of the inspiration and faith that has transformed our own life and taught us how great is the honour and privilege of being allowed to work in furtherance of the emancipation of the body and soul of the world's womanhood.

Of the great numbers of letters received it is only possible to quote a few extracts. They are typical of the rest :—

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E. D. Kirby, Esq., M.D., writes :—

> I am glad the paper goes on, and wish it prosperity. I think many suffragists like myself will welcome a really live paper which is not connected with any definite organisation.

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	£	s.	d.
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Mr. J. Packer	0	1	0
Per Miss Casey (extra on "Votes")	0	5	0
Miss E. Boulting and Mr. W. Boulting..	0	10	0
Miss E. L. Andrews	1	0	0
Miss N. E. McMunn	1	0	0
Miss Isabel Adams..	0	1	0
Mrs. Dodgson	1	0	0
Miss Mason............	0	14	0
Miss Herst	0	2	6
Mrs. Oldroyd	0	5	6
Miss Tongue	0	10	0
Miss Ada Wright ...	5	0	0
Mrs. J. A. Moore ...	0	10	0
Miss M. Cox	0	3	6
Miss O. E. Lehmann	0	5	0
Miss Elsie Fallon ...	0	1	1
Sympathiser in Dorking	0	10	0
Mrs. E. Lawford ...	5	5	0
Total	23	8	7

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Per Miss Casey (extra on "Votes")	0	5	0
Miss E. Boulting and Mr. W. Boulting..	0	10	0
Miss E. L. Andrews	1	0	0
Miss N. E. McMunn	1	0	0
Miss Isabel Adams..	0	1	0
Mrs. Dodgson	1	0	0
Miss Mason...........	0	14	0
Miss Herst	0	2	6
Mrs. Oldroyd	0	5	6
Miss Tongue	0	10	0
Miss Ada Wright ...	5	0	0
Mrs. J. A. Moore ...	0	10	0
Miss M. Cox	0	3	6
Miss O. E. Lehmann	0	5	0
Miss Elsie Fallon ...	0	1	1
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WOMEN IN PEACE AND WAR

A Balkan Memory

> Alluding to the war raging in the Balkan Peninsula, he said it was being waged by men alone, who were saving women. . . . In those parts of Europe women could take no part in that sanguinary struggle.—Lord Curzon at Glasgow, November 1.

By these and similar sayings, Lord Curzon once again exposes the futility of living in a world of phrases and ready-made sentiment. In the whole of that shallow speech of his at Glasgow, he said nothing more false than the words just quoted. I ask myself what possibly he could have meant, and what has been his experience of "those parts of Europe." And before my eyes there come memories and scenes I would thankfully forget. The faces and the maimed bodies of women and girls rise before me, and I hear once more the story of how Marya lost her reason, or of the events that turned bright Katya into a hopeless hysteric.

I have not, it is true, been in the Balkans in time of war in the large sense of that word; but I have been there during armed revolt, and during and after the suppression of revolt. I found myself suddenly surrounded by cruelty and suffering such as I could not have imagined, and the sufferers I saw most of were non-combatants, women and children.

I shall never forget the day our party arrived at Ochrida, a town which nestles like a dream on the border of a magic lake. The unearthly beauty of the place in the slow autumn sunlight seemed to throw up as if in horror, the pain of its humanity. In a certain house, on bare straw mats spread on the floor, lay a number of wounded persons, mostly women, a few old men, and one boy. It was, as I have said, a period of revolt. In the villages the able-bodied men had taken their rifles and gone to the hills to join the armed revolutionary bands. In countless cases the women and children and the infirm were left behind to look after themselves as best they could. Everyone remembers the ferocity with which the Turks avenged themselves that autumn (1903): how they pillaged and burned, and left the peasants' homes mere heaps of ruin. The wounded women who were lying untended in Ochrida had mostly been shot in trying to escape from the blazing villages or from the lust of the soldiers. A mother and her two months' baby had been shot through by the same bullet. A beautiful girl of fourteen had four bullet wounds. The Turkish soldiers were burning her village, and fired at her as she ran away. She fell down in a field, and two soldiers came up to her. She pretended she was dead, and one of them kicked her to make sure, and as she did not move, they put another bullet into her, and went off. Someone carried her into Ochrida, where the Bulgarian Bishop had put a house at the disposal of the wounded. Most of the women were young, and day by day others were brought in, some terribly injured and raving with pain, others demented with fear. In the East fear is a real disease. It seems to seize and paralyse and destroy people physically to an extent unknown here. I have gone into a house and seen a grown man lying huddled up in blankets in a corner, and been told he was very ill. On asking what was the matter, the answer has been simply "Fear," as if that were the most natural thing in the world. The girls and young women had every cause for terror. An old woman came to me one day and asked what she was to do about her grand-daughter. On hearing that soldiers were approaching the village to burn and raid as usual, she had taken the girl and put her into a deep hole, which she covered over. She kept her there for three days, and the girl came out with her reason gone. Various girls were brought to me, who, because of the unspeakable indignities they had met with, appeared to have lost the power of speech, and could only make unhuman sounds.

A "Stream of Misery"

These are only instances taken at random from my memory of the stream of misery that seemed day after day to flow through that little town. And these women were not only wounded, and violated, and terrified, they had besides lost everything they possessed. Their homes were burnt, their stores of provisions were gone—all they had hoarded and valued, the dowry for the daughter, the young bride's wedding dress, the chest of family garments with wonderful embroideries, that are handed down from one generation to another—everything was gone, and now winter had come while they shivered in their summer smocks. They had, of course, all the usual mental agony of the soldiers' womenkind. Their sons, husbands, and fathers were out of reach and sight, perhaps for ever.

I had been in Ochrida some time before I heard a rumour that there were seven women imprisoned there. In Turkey woman is so strictly confined to her own sphere that it has not been thought necessary to build prisons for her. There was every facility for male prisoners in Ochrida, and on the whole they did not seem to have a bad time as they sat talking and smoking in groups in the sunny courtyard. I wondered where the women could be. Their crime was that they had sent food and possibly news to their men in the mountains. My Albanian "cavass" found the "prison" and brought me his account. It was a small room in an ordinary house, mainly underground. He had gone in for a moment, but the smell of the place made him instantly sick, and he could not stay. Naturally, the Turkish Governor of the town would not allow me to go till the place had been cleaned out. That appeared to take three days. When I did make my visit I found a very small room almost entirely underground, its one slit of a window shuttered on the outside. It was so dark that I could not see the faces of the women without a candle. There were seven of them, and some had their children with them; two had babies at the breast. They were confined to this room night and day without light or air or heating. I could see that some of them were very ill, and was not surprised afterwards to learn that it was typhus. Worst of all, those women were entirely at the mercy of their jailor, who had used his privilege with all of them. A day or two after I saw them they were all released.

"Multiplied Suffering" in War

I could go almost endlessly on with instances of what I saw women and girls endure in that one little corner of Macedonia during a time of unrest. Imagination turns faint at the thought of what the multiplied suffering must be in the war area to-day. If Lord Curzon even read the headings of newspapers he would see that women are having their full share, and he could not have spoken those idle words. In a mental atmosphere created only by men it is natural that we should hear mainly of the glory of war and the sufferings of its heroes. It somehow takes the splendour away if you dwell on the passive sufferings of the non-combatants or count the wounds of women who themselves carry no arms, who are robbed, violated, killed (as many of them were) in a fight that is not theirs, in a war that brings them no joy of battle. It took Euripides to see that war is not man's affair alone, and to tear the trapping off glorious slaughter.

J. E. M. B.

WOMEN BOROUGH COUNCILLORS

The results of the recent Municipal Elections show a considerable improvement in public opinion with regard to women candidates. In London, although not quite so many women stood this year as in 1910, twenty-two of these have been elected as against eleven two years ago. Two stood as Independent candidates; the others were elected on the political ticket, that is, they were adopted by one or another of the political parties. Of these latter eight are Moderates, seven Progressives, and five Labour. This year's results, as in 1910, tend to show that the woman who does not get adopted by a political party has little real chance of success. Paddington is, however, a happy exception to this rule, as the Independent candidate there, Miss Beeton, came out at the head of the poll. An active member of the Women's Local Government Society, approached by us on the subject, gave it as her opinion that the political parties are generally averse to the adoption of women candidates, because, being voteless, women are useless politically; there were, she added, some exceptions to this point of view. Then there are a certain number of Municipal electors who, having commercial interests to serve, are suspicious of women's purifying influence in the Councils. Our informant added an interesting point in saying that, "There are also large numbers of foolish persons of both sexes who oppose a woman because of their dislike of Suffragist militant methods. They refuse to vote for a woman because they say they disapprove of window-breaking!" She concluded by saying that the mass of the educated and enlightened men and women electors do wish to see women on the Councils, and if they can be persuaded to resist the influence of the party caucus and be true to their principles, they will vote straight in their favour. The following list gives the number of Women Councillors elected last Friday to the London Borough Councils:—

Kensington	5
Paddington	4
Islington	3
Stepney	2
Woolwich	2
Bermondsey	1
Finsbury	1
Hampstead	1
Poplar	1
S. Marylebone	1
Westminster	1

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WOMEN AND THE HOME RULE BILL

Debate in the House of Commons

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. Philip Snowden moved his amendment to Clause 9 of the Home Rule Bill (which establishes the electoral register of the Irish House of Commons), proposing to substitute the Local Government Register, which would admit women to the electorate of the new House on equal terms with men. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Birrell opposed the amendment, and the Government Whips were put on against it. The amendment was defeated by 314 to 141, a majority of 173. Clause 9 was then passed by a majority of 95.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., expressed the opinion, in the Lobby afterwards, that, in spite of the adverse vote on the amendment, the general tone of the debate showed that the agitation carried on all over the country was, in all its forms, having considerable effect upon the House of Commons.

The Debate

Mr. Snowden explained that the effect of the amendment would be to give votes to women on the same terms as men. He had no hostility to the Bill, but felt that it was impossible to allow the opportunity to pass without making an attempt to secure representation for women upon the new Parliament. He thought it strange that seeing that there were 400 members of the House of Commons pledged to support woman suffrage provision was not made in the Bill for the representation of women. The Irish Parliament would have no control over the Army and Navy and other Imperial services, and would have no more control over any physical force than was possessed by every municipality. In the Irish Councils Bill of 1907 it was provided that women should take part in the elections, and various members of the Government had expressed themselves in favour of giving women the vote for local parliaments. If women were excluded now it would be a precedent for their exclusion when the House came to create subordinate parliaments for Scotland, Wales, and perhaps a dozen other subdivisions of England. There was a strong and widespread movement in Ireland in favour of the enfranchisement of women. The organised Labour movement in Ireland had unanimously passed a resolution in favour of extending the vote to Irishwomen. (Mr. Snowden also referred to the resolutions passed by municipal Councils all over Ireland.) If the amendment were carried it would enfranchise 100,000 Irishwomen, about 70,000 of whom he was informed were women owning and managing their own farms and discharging all the responsibilities of men. In 1911, when the Woman Franchise Bill was voted upon, only nine members of the Irish Nationalist party voted against it. This year the Irish vote was not given upon the merits of woman suffrage; but when the party did vote upon the merits of the question they contributed a larger percentage of votes in favour of woman suffrage than any other party in the House except the Labour party. The Government proposed to give the Irish Parliament elected by men the control of two millions of Irish women without giving the women any safeguard whatever. Home Rule would be a misnomer if the women in the home were denied the franchise. (Labour cheers.)

Government Opposition

Mr. Birrell said that, unlike some of his colleagues, he would not only like to see the principle of woman suffrage cautiously introduced into our electoral system, but he confidently looked forward very soon to an opportunity of giving effect in the lobby to his moderate and sensible views on this subject. Before many weeks were over they would in that Imperial Parliament in which the Irish members were fully represented have an opportunity, free from the entanglement of Home Rule or anything else, and free from the crack of the party whip, of deciding for themselves upon a variety of questions connected with woman suffrage; and by the provisions of Clause 9 the decision then come to would automatically govern the electoral roll for the Irish Parliament. Any extension of the suffrage to women would be enjoyed by Irishwomen as well as women in England, Scotland, and Wales. If the extension were not made it would still be in the power of the Irish Parliament after three years to add women to the Irish electoral roll. In the circumstances he had somewhat reluctantly formed the opinion that to introduce at this stage as a preliminary canter their notions of female suffrage would be an unwise and inequitable proposal, and the Government, therefore, could not accept the amendment.

Mr. D. Mason said that if the Nationalist party would assure the House that when this question came up on the Franchise Bill they would deal with it upon its merits, it would go a long way to reassure the supporters of the amendment. If the Irish members frustrated the hopes of women they would arouse feelings of exasperation which would prejudice the cause of Home Rule.

Mr. W. Redmond said that the Nationalist party were not likely to be influenced in their action by the suggestion that the consequences would be unfavourable to themselves. He was personally a strong supporter of the cause of woman suffrage, but maintained that the question ought to be left to the decision of the Irish people themselves. A vote taken on this amendment would prejudice the decision upon the merits of woman suffrage upon the Franchise Bill.

Mr. Chancellor asked whether on that occasion they might assume that no pressure would be put upon the Irish members —such as they understood was brought to bear to secure the defeat of the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. W. Redmond said that so far as he knew there had never been any pressure put upon Irish members; and if a woman suffrage amendment was moved to the Franchise Bill and the question was left to the unfettered judgment of the House, the members of the Irish party would approach the question upon its merits. He hoped the amendment would not be pressed to a division. If it were, he could not vote for it.

Mr. W. Roch supported the amendment, and deplored that Nationalist members should play a selfish game on this question. Such a game was apt in the long run to react on the people who played it.

Viscount Castlereagh said that he should support the amendment, because he had always been consistent on the question of woman suffrage.

Mr. Ronald M'Neill held that the attitude of the Government in this matter was inconsistent and illogical. He had not heard from the hon. member for Clare, or from the Chief Secretary, any solid ground of objection to woman suffrage in Ireland being granted by Imperial Parliament now.

The Irish Vote

Mr. J. Redmond said it was impossible for any advocate of woman suffrage to hold that a decision upon this amendment would be a decision for or against the cause of woman suffrage, because it was evident that a number of members who were in favour of woman suffrage were voting against this amendment, while a number of members who were against woman suffrage and actuated by purely wrecking purposes were going to vote in favour of this amendment. (Hear, hear.) The Irish ought to be left to settle this question of woman suffrage for themselves in their own fashion. He had no means of judging the strength of feeling in Ireland, but that feeling would speedily develop in the Irish Parliament, and under the provisions of this Bill the Irish Parliament could settle this question for itself. If the woman suffrage amendment was to be introduced into the Government's Franchise Bill there was no need for this present amendment. If the Franchise Bill were not amended as the advocates of woman suffrage desired, then it would not be a fair thing to force woman suffrage upon Ireland. His hon. friend opposite was afraid that a genuine vote on the question could not be taken. So far as the Liberal party were concerned the Prime Minister had declared that there should be a free vote on the general question, Whips not telling; and he could say on behalf of his friends in the Irish party that it would be a free vote on the general question.

In answer to a question from Lord Robert Cecil Mr. Redmond continued:

He did not know that with some members of the party the position of the question had not been improved by some of the proceedings in connection with the movement, and by attacks made upon Home Rule and the Irish party by professed supporters of women's franchise. But he was absolutely sure that none of those proceedings had influence with him or on the votes of his friends. Members of the Irish party would be free to vote on the merits of the question, as the Prime Minister had said members of the Liberal party would be free; but he made an appeal to those who were in favour of the Bill not to allow themselves to be made tools of by those who were not friends of the Bill.

Sir A. Mond invited members to consider the first subsection of Clause 41, by which the Irish Parliament was denied power to alter any Act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom which dealt with Ireland. Why should there not be the same freedom to vote upon it as was promised in the case of the Franchise Bill? If there was to be a free vote on the question in relation to the Imperial Parliament, it was absurd that there should not be a free vote on the subordinate question. (Hear, hear.) Why not use the occasion to give Irish women the franchise, not in three years' time, but now? Why should this House be debarred from acceding to their wishes, instead of waiting for a shadowy opportunity which might never come?

Lord R. Cecil said he wanted to ask one or two questions of the Irish party. What was the secret history of their opposition to the amendment? He had not an idea. The really important question was, was the position in the Irish party to be the same as it was at the time of the Conciliation Bill? Were the Irish members, or any of them, going to support a suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill? They were making many irrevocable changes in the Irish Constitution, and he did not understand why this particular question should be singled out as one not to be dealt with. With certain supporters of woman suffrage there was always some reason why they should not vote for a suffrage amendment. (Hear, hear.) The general effect to the women themselves was deplorable. They presented their demands to the House in every kind of way, and so long as it was a mere debating question or a Bill that was not to go any further it was carried by an enormous majority. The moment there was a chance that the suffrage would become an effective grant by the House there was found some excellent reason why on that particular occasion it should not be granted. "It happens," Lord Robert Cecil concluded, "I have to attend a great meeting of women this evening. . . . What message am I to take from this House? . . . I confess I think if any body of men were submitted to treatment like this we should make allowances for great irritation on their part, and many very unjustifiable actions. I have done my very utmost, and I shall continue to do it, to prevent any breach of the law on the part of the women. I believe it to be thoroughly unjustifiable and extremely regrettable. But I must say that the House of Commons does not give us much assistance in controlling these women. If they are against the suffrage let hon. Members in heaven's name say so; let us know where we stand; do not say 'we are in favour of it in principle but in practice we must vote against it.'"

Mr. Lansbury said they had been asked to consider the question from the point of view of Home Rule and to leave the Irish people to settle it for themselves. He was not prepared to do that. There were several things in the Home Rule Bill which he hated. Those he was willing to waive, but he regarded the question of woman suffrage as of vital importance, for he wanted the views of industrial Irishwomen to be heard in the Irish House of Commons. They ought on this occasion to vote according to their consciences, whatever happened to the Government. "No one," said Mr. Lansbury, "has yet asked why the 400 Members who pledged themselves at the last election to vote for woman suffrage should not vote for it to-night. It is only party expediency and the exigencies of the Government. The women outside do not believe that any of us believe the statements we make when we are up for election. This is an excellent opportunity for getting rid of that belief, and to show that Members of this House, irrespective of what happens to the Government, will go into the Lobby for what they believe in." He wanted to utter no threats, but he warned them that there was a very strong feeling of resentment that the Nationalist members should cast their votes relentlessly with only one object in view, to obtain Home Rule. They might carry the Bill this Session, but there would be two more Sessions—(Opposition cheers) —and if they continued to act as they were doing they would reap as they had sown. (Cheers.)

Mr. Balfour hoped that the feeling indicated by Mr. Lansbury was growing in the country. He should support the amendment because he regarded it as a moderate measure. If the Irish Parliament was really a local legislature, as it was represented to be, he could not understand how any man could vote against the amendment, or how the Goverment could oppose it. (Hear, hear.) The broad contention against woman suffrage had no application to the amendment, and even the most convinced opponent of woman suffrage for the Imperial Parliament could vote for the present proposal.

"The Consistent Anti"

Mr. Asquith felicitated Mr. Balfour upon his incomparable dialectical agility. He had fished in both streams in angling for votes for this amendment. (Laughter.) Those who, like himself, were consistent opponents of woman suffrage, did not base their objections to the enfranchisement of women for parliamentry purposes upon the sovereign character of the Parliament or the scale and quality of the affairs with which that Parliament had to deal. The Imperial Parliament was the only sovereign Parliament in the Empire, and there was not a single case in which they had established a local legislature in which it had been made a condition that women should have the vote. It would be unprecedented, therefore, to apply such a condition to the present instance. (Hear, hear.) It was quite true that if subsequently they altered the suffrage as regarded the United Kingdom the change would apply automatically to Ireland, but it would still be competent for the Irish Legislature after three years to take away the vote from women in Ireland.

Mr. Hugh Law, though a convinced suffragist himself, did not believe a majority of Irishwomen wanted the vote. When they did want it he believed Irishmen would give it to them.

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, speaking for himself only, said he believed that all the members of the Labour party would vote for the amendment. His position was quite plain. He was in favour of woman suffrage, and he would be only too delighted by his vote to endeavour to establish a new precedent, so that when any fresh Constitution was to be granted it would be impossible in future for any Prime Minister to say that there was no precedent so far as women's votes were concerned. He believed that it was the duty of the Committee to take upon themselves the responsibility of saying whether or not women in Ireland should have the franchise. They could not shuffle out of the responsibility by saying they would give the subordinate Legislature power to decide the matter. He hoped the amendment would be carried by a large majority.

The Committee divided, and the amendment was rejected, the voting being:—

For 141
Against 314

Majority against 173

The Chairman proceeded to put the question—That Clause 9 stand part of the Bill.

The Committee divided and voted—

For the clause 310
Against 215

Majority 95

PRESS COMMENTS

He [Mr. Asquith] was on pretty thin ice, and evidently became aware of it, for he promptly glided off to the argument that there is no precedent for dictating to a community upon which we confer self-government how it shall manage such a domestic concern as the Parliamentary privileges of women. Thus he, too, contributed his quota to the evidence of that confusion of thought and inconsequence of action which his own Parliamentary tactics have done so much to foster. No one not blinded by the fog of party gvernment carried on by a coalition of incongruous groups can fail to be impressed by the unreal and acamedic character of the whole proceedings upon the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Asquith has never yet given a clear lead based upon any intelligible principle, but has juggled with Sovereign Parliaments, Federal Parliaments, and Provincial Parliaments, with simple municipalities thrown in when convenient, until every group and section of a group can find something consoling somewhere in the lucid obscurity of his polyphase oratory.—**The Times.**

That result was a foregone conclusion as soon as Mr. Birrell declared that the Government felt bound to resist it. It was made doubly sure when Mr. Redmond announced with the utmost emphasis that the Nationalists would also vote against it. Consequently, there was little heart in the debate. . . . As has been said, the vote was confessedly not a vote on the merits of the question, and there seemed almost as much embarrassment among the friends as among the opponents of the proposal, since both found themselves employing arguments decidedly at variance with their general attitude on other clauses of the Bill.—**The Daily Telegraph.**

Pressed in the House last night as to whether the formal liberty to the Nationalist members to vote as they pleased on the Reform Bill would be a real or only a colourable one, Mr. John Redmond refused to say more than that his followers would be as free as those of Mr. Asquith. We can only hope that these words are to be interpreted in a large and not a limited sense, and for ourselves we are not without hope that this is their true significance. Mr. Redmond's position may well be, as he declared last night, that Ireland must settle the question of woman's suffrage for herself. All that we ask of him and his followers is that they shall not first settle it for us, and settle it in the wrong way.—**The Manchester Guardian.**

The House of Commons, as a whole, made a sorry exhibition of itself yesterday over the question of the extension of the franchise to Irishwomen. It lacked grit and courage, and that dignity on which, in theory, it is supposed to pride itself so much. . . . As Mr. Lansbury justly maintained in his strong and sincere address, which was wonderfully real in that haunt of unreality, tactics like those of yesterday are simply exasperating. Few can wonder that they intensify the spirit of militancy. . . . The House in its perverse attitude to woman and her rightful claims is simply piling up trouble for itself. Selfish and short-sighted party politicians cannot prevail against ideas and the better spirit of the age.—**The Daily Herald.**

The debate was quiet, keen, yet curious. Anti-suffragists will themselves admit that none of their champions—not even Mr. Chaplin—made any attempt to answer the case on merits. The drama reminded one of a contested election, where popular feeling seems to be on the Progressive side but where the out-voter pours in on polling day and settles the business.—**P.W.W. in "The Daily News."**

M.P.'s who Voted in Favour of Mr. Snowden's Amendment (141)

Adamson, William
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Aitken, Sir William Max
Amery, L. C. M. S.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Barlow, Montague (Salford, South)
Barnes, G. N.
Barrie, H. T.
Bathurst, Charles (Wilts, Wilton)
Beale, Sir William Phipson
Benn, Arthur Shirley Plymouth)
Bethell, Sir J. H.
Bird, Alfred
Boscawen, Sir Arthur S. T. Griffith-
Bowerman, C. W.
Boyton, James
Brace, William
Bull, Sir William James
Burgoyne, Alan Hughes
Burn, Col. C. R.
Carlile, Sir Edward Hildred
Cassel, Felix
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cawley, H. T. (Heywood)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Oxford University)
Cecil, Lord R. (Herts, Hitchin)
Chambers, James
Chancellor, Henry George
Chapple, Dr. William Allen
Clynes, John R.
Cooper, Richard Ashmole
Courthope, George Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Ernest (Cheshire, Crewe)
Craig, Norman (Kent, Thanet)
Crooks, William
Denniss, E. R. B.
Doughty Sir George
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Faber, Captain W. V.
Fell, Arthur
Fenwick, Rt. Hon. Charles
Fisher, Rt. Hon. W. Hayes
Gilhooly, James
Gill, A. H.
Goldman, C. S.
Goldstone, Frank
Gordon, Hon. John Edward (Brighton)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, Walter Raymond
Haddock, George Bahr
Hall, Marshall (E. Toxteth)
Hamersley, Alfred St. George
Hancock, J. G.
Hardie, J. Keir
Harris, Henry Percy
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Hill-Wood, Samuel
Hoare, S. J. G.
Hodge, John
Hope, Major J. A. (Midlothian)
Hudson, Walter
Hume-Williams, W. E.
Ingleby, Holcombe
John, Edward Thomas
Jowett, F. W.
Kerr-Smiley, Peter Kerr
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, J.
Lansbury, George
Law, Rt. Hon. A. Bonar
Lawson, Sir W.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. A.
Macdonadl, J. Ramsay
M'Curdy, C. A.
M'Laren, Hon. H. D.
M'Laren, Hon. F. W. S.
McNeill, Ronald (Kent, St Augustine's)
Malcolm, Ian
Markham, Sir Arthur Basil
Mason, David M. (Coventry)
Mond, Sir Alfred M.
Munro-Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R. C.
Newdegate, F. A.
Newton, Harry Kottingham
Norman, Sir Henry
O'Brien, William (Cork)
Orde-Powlett, Hon. W. G. A.
Ormsby-Gore, Hon. William
Parker, James Halifax
Pearson, Hon. Weetman H. M.
Pointer, Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Pryce-Jones, Col E. (Mon. Burghs)
Randles, Sir John S.
Remnant, James Farquharson
Richardson, Thomas
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Roch, Walter F. (Pembroke)
Rolleston, Sir John
Rowntree, Arnold
Rutherford, Watson (Liverpool, W. Derby)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sanders, Robert Arthur
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sherwell, Arthur James
Smith, Albert (Lancs., Clitheroe)
Spear, Sir John Ward
Stanier, Beville
Strauss, Arthur (Paddington, North)
Sykes, Mark (Hull, Central)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C.
Thomas, J. H.
Thompson, Robert (Belfast, North)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Touche, George Alexander
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Walsh, J. (Lancs., Ince)
Walton, Sir Joseph
Wardle, George J.
Watt, Henry A.
Wheler, Granville C. H.
White, Major G. D.
White, Sir Luke (Yorks, E.R.)
Whyte, A. F. (Perth)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wolmer, Viscount
Wood, John (Stalybridge)
Worthington-Evans, L.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert A.

Tellers—Mr. Snowden and Mr. Dickinson.

M.P.'s who Voted Against Mr. Snowden's Amendment (314)

Abraham, William (Dublin Harbour)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Addison, Dr. C.
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, Sir George William
Allen, A. A. (Dumbartonshire)
Allen, Rt. Hon. Charles
Anson, Rt. Hon. Sir William R.
Armitage, R
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry

Bagot, Lieut.-Colonel J.
Baker, H. T. (Accrington)
Baldwin, Stanley
Balfour, Sir Robert
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring, Sir Godfrey
Barlow, Sir John Emmott (Somerset)
Barnston, Harry
Barran, Sir John N.
Barran, Rowland Hurst
Barton, William
Beach, Hon. Michael Hugh Hicks-
Beauchamp, Sir Edward
Beck, Arthur Cecil
Beckett, Hon. Gervasse
Benn, W. W. (Tower Hamlets, St. Geo.)
Bennett-Goldney, Francis
Bentham, G. J.
Beresford, Lord Charles
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John Pius
Booth, Frederick Handel
Boyle, Daniel (Mayo, N.)
Brady, Patrick Joseph
Brassey, H. Leonard Campbell
Brocklehurst, William B.
Brunner, John F. L.
Bryce, J. Annan
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hon. S. C.
Byles, Sir William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cecil Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chaloner, Col. R. G. W.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Worcester)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clough, William
Coates, Major Sir Edward Feetham
Collins, G. P. (Greenock)
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Compton-Rickett, Rt. Hon. Sir J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cornwall, Sir Edwin
Cotton, William Francis
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Craik, Sir Henry
Crawshay-Williams, Eliot
Crumley, Patrick
Cullinan, J.

Davies, Ellis William
Davies, Timothy (Lincs., Louth)
Davies, Sir W. Howell
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dawes, J. A.
Delany, William
Denman, Hon. R. D.
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doris, William
Du Cros, Arthur Phillip
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Clement (Glamorgan, E.)
Edwards, Sir Francis
Esmonde, Dr. John (Tipperary, N.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, Richard Walter
Esslemont, George Birnie

Faber, George Denison
Falconer, James
Farrell, James Patrick
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace Edward
Finlay, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert
Fitzgibbon, John
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fleming, Valentine
France, Gerald Ashburner

Gelder, Sir W. A.
George, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd
Gibbs, George Abraham
Gilmour, Captain J.
Gladstone, W. G. C.
Glanville, H. J.
Glazebrook, Capt. P. K.
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Goldsmith, Frank
Greenwood, Granville G.
Greig, Colonel J. W.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Major C. H.
Guest, Hon. Frederick E.
Guinness, Hon. W. E.
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Hackett, John
Hall, Fred (Dulwich)
Hall, Frederick (Normanton)
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harcourt, Robert V. (Montrose)
Hardy, Rt. Hon. Laurence
Harmsworth, R. L. (Caithness-shire)
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Havelock-Allan, Sir Henry
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayward, Evan
Hazleton, Richard
Helme, Sir Norval Watson
Helmsley, Viscount
Henderson, Major H.
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Sir Charles
Hewins, William Albert Samuel
Higham, John Sharp
Hill, Sir Clement L.
Holmes, Daniel Turner
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, James Fitzalan
Horne, C. Silvester (Ipswich)
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hughes, Spencer Leigh
Isaacs, Rt. Hon. Sir Rufus
Jardine, Sir John (Roxburgh)
Jessel, Captain H. M.
Jones, Rt. Hon. Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Edgar (Merthyr Tydvil)
Jones, H. Haydn
Jones, J. Towyn (Carmarthen, East)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jones, W. S. Glyn- (Stepney)
Joyce, Michael
Keating, Matthew
Kebty-Fletcher, J. R.
Kellaway, Frederick Geo.
Kelly, Edward
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Lamb, Ernest Henry
Lambert, Rt. Hon. G.
Lambert, Richard (Wilts, Cricklade)
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, West)
Lee, Arthur H.
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd, G. A.
Lockwood, Rt. Hon. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hon Walter
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Low, Sir Frederick (Norwich)
Lundon, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, Arthur Alfred
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. A.
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk Burghs)
McGhee, Richard
Mackinder, Halford J.
Macmaster, Donald
Macnamara, Rt. Hon. Dr. T. J.
MacNeill, John G. S.
Macpherson, James Ian
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McCallum, Sir John M.
Manfield, Harry
McKenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
Marks, Sir George Croydon
Martin, Joseph
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Masterman, Rt. Hon. C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E.
Menzies, Sir Walter
Mills, Hon. Charles Thomas
Molloy, Michael
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Mooney, John J.
Morrell, Philip
Morrison-Bell, Major A. C
Muldoon, John
Munro, R.
Murray, Captain Hon. A. C.
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Needham, Christopher T.
Neilson, Francis
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Captain Cecil W.
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, Thomas
O'Dowd, John
Ogden, Fred
O'Kelly, Edward P.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Neill, Dr. Charles (Armagh, S.)
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
O'Sullivan, Timothy
Outhwaite, R. L.
Palmer, Godfrey Mark
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pease, Rt. Hon. Joseph A.
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pirie, Duncan Vernon
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Sir Robert J. (Norfolk, E.)
Priestley, Sir Arthur
Priestley, Sir W. E. B.
Pringle, William M. R.
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Sir Herbert H.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Rea, Rt. Hon. Russell
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarborough)
Reddy, Michael
Redmond, John E.
Redmond, William (Clare, E.)
Redmond, William Archer
Rees, Sir J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richardson, Albion (Peckham)
Roberts, Charles H.
Roberts, Sir J. H. (Denbigh)
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, Sydney
Roche, Augustine (Louth)
Roche, John (Galway, E.)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Rose, Sir Charles Day
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, Rt. Hon. Thomas W.
Rutherford, John (Lancs.,

Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. L.
Samuel, J. (Stockton)
Samuel, Sir Stuart M.
Scanlan, Thomas
Schwann, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles E.
Scott, A. MacCallum
Scott, Sir S. Marylebone, W.)
Seeley, Col. Rt. Hon. J. E. B.
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Simon, Sir John Allsebrook
Smith, Rt. Hon. F. E.
Smith, Harold (Warrington)
Smith, H. B. Lees
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
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Staveley-Hill, Henry
Strauss, Edward A. (Southwark, West)
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Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tryon, Captain George Clement

Wadsworth, John
Walsh, Stephen (Lancs, Ince)
Walters, Sir John Tudor
Ward, A. S. (Herts, Watford)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent)
Waring, Walter
Warner, Sir Thomas Courtenay
Wason, Rt. Hon. E. (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart
Webb, H.
White, J. Dundas (Glasgow, Tradeston)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, Col. R.
Williamson, Sir Archibald
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Rt. Hon. J. W.
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, Richard
Winterton, Earl
Wood, Hon. E. F. L.
Wood, Rt. Hon. T. McKinnon (Glas.)
Yate, Col. C. E.
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
Young, William (Perth, East)
Younger, Sir George

Tellers—Mr. Illingworth and Mr. Gulland.

MILITANT OUTBREAK ON TUESDAY NIGHT

What is a harassed Government to do with the turbulent and reckless sisterhood?—*Glasgow Evening Citizen.*

On Tuesday night, after the result of Mr. Snowden's amendment became known, an outbreak of window smashing, said to be the work of militant Suffragists, took place in the West End. Windows were broken on the premises of the National Health Insurance Commissioners at Buckingham Gate, and many windows were also broken in Bond Street and in Oxford Street. Four arrests were made, the prisoners being taken to Marlborough Street Police Station.

In Oxford Street, just before eleven o'clock, the women were seen by passers-by to whip out hammers from satchels and rush along Bond Street on the left-hand side from Oxford Street, smashing holes in large plate-glass windows as far down as Conduit Street. Altgether eighteen firms suffered damage. In an earlier outbreak, which took place just before 10 o'clock, the damage was confined to establishments on the eastern side near Brook Street. In corner premises at that point a sheet of glass of about 120 square feet was splintered. The damage was done with hammers, to the handles of which were tied ribbons and labels bearing such inscriptions as "England, do your duty," "Women want the vote," and "Now or never." At another shop two large holes had been made in a fine window, and expensive windows in other establishments shared a similar fate, great damage being done in some cases. In all some twenty-six windows in eighteen shops were broken, and the damage is roughly estimated at £1,000.

After the outbreak a special force of uniformed and plain clothes constables was placed in the principal streets, and a close watch was kept upon the post-offices.

AT BOW STREET

November 6, 1912

At Bow Street Police Court, on Wednesday afternoon, before Mr. Marsham, Mrs. Margaret Smith and Miss Elizabeth Gordon were charged with wilfully breaking two panes of glass, value £4, at the offices of the National Health Insurance Commission, Buckingham Gate. It was stated that at ten o'clock on Tuesday the prisoners were seen together outside the office in question. Mrs. Smith broke a pane of glass with something she had in a handkerchief. Both prisoners walked away, but soon returned to the office, and Mrs. Smith broke another window. Mrs. Smith said to Inspector Urban, who was standing near: "I merely brought a message." This was understood to refer to a label on a hammer which she was said to have left near the broken windows. The label bore a reference to Votes for Women and the Insurance Act. Miss Gordon had in her possession a hammer, with a label attached, bearing the words: "The only way to ensure peace is to give women the vote."

As neither of the prisoners had been previously convicted, the magistrate said he would give each of them an opportunity of paying a fine of 20s. and 40s. damages; in default, 14 days' imprisonment in the second division. They declined to pay the fine, and went to prison.

Miss Isabella Irving and Miss Ethel Slade were also charged before Mr. Marsham with committing damage at nine establishments in New Bond Street.

Mr. Muskett, who prosecuted, said the damage amounted to several hundred pounds.

A waiter said he saw the defendant Miss Irving hitting with a hammer each window she passed, and he should think she struck at least fifty.

The defendants were remanded, and on their giving an undertaking not to break any windows in the meantime the magistrate agreed to release them on bail until Wednesday next, at 2.30.

It is reported that corrosive fluid was poured into letter boxes near Piccadilly Circus during the evening.

It is also stated that an attempt has been made to destroy the contents of the private letter-box of Messrs. Van Oppen and Co., Charles Street, Bradford. A black destructive fluid was poured into the box which was empty at the time. The incident occurred on the day after Mrs. Pankhurst had addressed a meeting in the Bradford Mechanics' Institute, a circumstance which has caused the suffragists to be suspected.

MISS GLADYS EVANS RE-ARRESTED

Miss Gladys Evans, who it will be remembered was sentenced to five years' penal servitude for attempting to set fire to the Theatre Royal on the occasion of the visit of the Prime Minister to Dublin, and was released after a hunger-strike of many weeks, was re-arrested last Tuesday morning for failing to report herself to the police authorities. She had already been charged with failing to report herself, and in the Dublin Police Court on October 22 was remanded. This charge was further heard on October 29 before Mr. Macinerney, when she was discharged, as the magistrate considered that the week's imprisonment she had endured was sufficient punishment for the offence. On that occasion she stated: "However many times I am re-arrested I will never comply with any rules, regulations, or conditions in connection with my discharge. It is an attempt on the Government's part to fetter my liberty, and treat me as a ticket-of-leave convict."

In the Northern Police Court on Tuesday afternoon, before Mr. Mahony, Miss Evans was again brought up on a charge of failing to report her change of address.

There were a number of Suffragists in the court when the case was called. When Miss Evans entered the dock she looked pale and worn.

Mr. Gerald Horan (instructed by Mr. Tobias) prosecuted, and Mr. Gerald Byrne represented Miss Evans.

Mr. Horan, opening the case, said that Miss Evans had been re-arrested for failing to comply with the conditions under which she was released from Mountjoy. He asked for a remand.

Chief Superintendent O'Brien, of the Detective Department, said he was outside the house, 39, Raglan Road, that morning a little before 12 o'clock. While there he saw a taxicab drive up and stop at 39. After a few minutes' delay the chauffeur was called in, and directly he returned to the taxi with two articles of luggage. Then there came out of the house Miss Evans, accompanied by another lady. As she was getting into the taxi witness asked her if she were leaving that address. "It looks like it," was her reply. Witness then asked her where she was going to, and she answered, "I decline to tell." The witness suggested that she was leaving that address. "I am," she returned, "and I absolutely refuse to report my movements to the police or the Government." Witness said that he pressed her to answer his question and save trouble, but she still declined. He then placed her in a cab and took her to the Bridewell, where she was charged. When the charge was read over to her she made no reply.

To Mr. Horan: She was released from prison on October 3 on licence, and was in the Police Court for failing to report her address on the 23rd ult.

Mr. Byrne: Have you got the licence?

Mr. Horan: We will produce it at the proper time.

Mr. Byrne: They won't produce the licence, but only give you an idea of what is in it.

Chief Superintendent O'Brien added that Miss Evans never reported herself to the police as to her address.

Mr. Mahony said he would accede to the request of Mr. Horan, and adjourn the case to Friday at 11.15.

Miss Evans was remanded in cutody.

◆

MISS HELEN CRAGGS

Miss Helen Craggs, who, as announced in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, was released by order of the Home Office on Wednesday, October 30, is lying very ill, and is suffering greatly from external and internal bruises, the result of her terrible experiences in Holloway Gaol. She entered upon the hunger strike as a protest against the refusal of the Government to treat her as a political prisoner, and resisted every effort that was made to induce her to accept various compromises. She was forcibly fed three times, once on Monday, October 28, and twice on the following day. By Wednesday morning she was so ill that her release was ordered. It will be a long time before she is well enough to take an active part in the agitation, but those who know her will not be surprised to hear that she is ardently looking forward to that time. At the meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union at the London Pavilion last Monday, Mrs. Pankhurst referred to a letter she had received that morning from Miss Craggs, modest and affectionate in tone, in which she deprecated the praise that had been given her, and said she was thinking only of the time when she would be well enough to join the ranks again, and renew the struggle for the emancipation of her sex.

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THE FEMINIST AND VOTES FOR WOMEN

One has a natural distrust of a book labelled by the publisher "the book that women have been waiting for," and only the evident sincerity of Mr. W. L. George's disquisition on Feminism dispels one's fear of finding in "Woman and To-morrow,"* the usual advice offered to women struggling for freedom by men whose freedom was won for them before they were born. Mr. George mercifully refrains from offering advice. "Opinions are not rules," he says; "a discussion of Feminism must, at the present stage of social development, be considered principally as a stimulant."

This is sound and healthy enough. If we have a quarrel with Mr. George it is over his tendency to draw too firm a line of demarcation between the Feminist and the Suffragist. It is true that the two are not necessarily identical; there are noted examples of Anti-Suffragists who are to a limited extent Feminists, and there may be Suffragists, though we cannot call to mind any of distinction, who are not also Feminists, that is, who see no further than the ballot-box. But we think that the author of "Woman and To-morrow" gets his values wrong when he assumes that only a small minority of women are both. When he says, "Feminists look upon Suffragism as no more than a part of their programme," he might with far greater truth say that Suffragists do this; and while entirely agreeing that "the vote is . . . an affair in the van," we dissent as wholly from his further contention that "the Feminist army behind has an objective of its own, and will attain it by its own methods." We contend that the Feminist army cannot attain its objective until the Suffrage van has won its battle; and apparently Mr. George really agrees with us, for he admits on the very next page, having defined one of the objects of Feminism as a proposal "to break into the preserved professions," that "the councils of the Bar and of the solicitors will have to be coerced by political action." Exactly so. That is why so many women, to whom the political side of the Woman's Movement is the side that appeals least, are concentrating to-day upon winning the political weapon. They are Suffragists because Feminism is being held up by reason of the political disability of women.

We do not wish in any way to imply that Mr. W. L. George is opposed to Woman Suffrage, only that he appears to us to try to separate what is inseparable in treating its aims as distinct from those of Feminism. Both, indeed, come within his definition of the latter. Feminism, he says—

> can be defined broadly as a furthering of the interests of women, more specifically as the social and political emancipation of woman, and philosophically as the levelling of the sexes.

Every Suffragist worthy of the name is aiming at all these things. Where a distinction does appear to us to exist between the Suffragist and the Feminist, as such, is in their temperament rather than in their aims. Mr. George, for instance, though he guards himself by the statement that in using the word "woman" in these essays he is excepting the intellectual minority—rather an important exception, by the way—professes to regard women in the lump as "inaccurate, petty, calumnious, dishonourable, and vain," because "the ages have . . developed in her the characteristics of the slave," and he also regards men in the lump as "selfish, ignorant, and brutal," because these are the characteristics of the slave owner. This attitude of mind is infinitely preferable to that of the sentimentalist who puts woman on a pedestal because she is too good to be placed on an equality with man; but it is considerably less tolerant than that of the average Suffragist, certainly of the militant Suffragist, who, having left theories behind and come to grips with the enemy, probably feels healthier about human nature generally than the theorist does. With regard to militancy, by the way, Mr. George has some excellent things to say, for he has the insight to see that it is the expression of a "fierce, race-protecting passion," which ought to be turned to good account in the State. He refuses to discuss whether militancy has defeated its object:—

> I do not think so, but as a Feminist I am bound to look further ahead. What matters to us is the fanatical quality, and we do not care whether opponents attach to it the word "insane" or "hysterical": few reforming movements have come into their own, and few great deeds have been done save by those whom Dr. Nordau and others called degenerates, madmen, urnings, hysterical persons. If sanity means "average person," and I believe it does, we can bear with the lunatic fire of Napoleon, Nietzsche, Savonarola, Newton, and Galileo. If this lunacy be genius, then we can rely upon woman as the depositary of the genius of the race; her unflinching physical courage, her yet greater moral courage in the face of gibes, the ferocity of spirit which dominates her weakness of body, all these traits make me believe that it is the passion of woman shall be the passion of the State.

We have not space to review in detail all the essays in Mr. George's book. He says much that is inspiring, a good deal that is contentious, about woman in relation to the Home, and the Arts, and to Labour, and to Marriage. But if we do not always accept it, we always find his point of view interesting; and if he is sometimes a little too dogmatic he is never weakly sentimental. In a book about Woman there is real matter for thankfulness in these abstentions.

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* "Woman and To-morrow." By W. L. George. (Herbert Jenkins. 2s. 6d. net.)

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A SUFFRAGE NOVEL

Mr. Percy White has very cleverly revealed his own sympathy for the Woman-Suffrage cause through an Anti-Suffrage guise, in his latest novel, "To-day." The story is told in the first person by an Anti-Suffragist, and the author is to be congratulated on the remorseless manner in which he has drawn his hero, William Orr, the undersized poor relation, who is limited in understanding and possesses no personal attraction of any kind, and who is only saved from being totally colourless by his unwavering devotion to Dulcie Ellice, the Suffragist heroine. This affection of his, which begins when he is a schoolboy and she a baby in the nursery, and survives every shock that she gives him through life—she gives him a great many—illumines the dullest little man we remember meeting in modern fiction, and we grow almost attached to him as the story proceeds. His portrayal is the main achievement of the book. Dulcie is not nearly so convincing; nor are her Suffragist friends, and the few details that are given of her militant actions do not ring altogether true. It is of course impossible to make an artistic success of a story dealing with current events, and Mr. Percy White is evidently conscious of this. That is probably the explanation of the later development of his plot, which degenerates rather weakly into an argument for the drastic alteration of the marriage laws. We doubt if Dulcie, keen enough to go to prison and be forcibly fed for the sake of Votes for Women, would have allowed herself to be side-tracked over another movement immediately afterwards. However, it is a sign of the times that a popular novelist should choose the militant Suffrage movement for the background of his story, and a militant Suffragist for his heroine.

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* "To-Day." By Percy White. Constable. 6s.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Westminster Review." November. (London: E. Marlborough. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Potted Policies." By Joseph Chamberlain. (London: Frank Palmer. Price 1s. net.)

"The English Review." November. (Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. Price 1s. net.)

"The Inn of Tranquillity." By John Galsworthy. (London: William Heinemann. Price 6s.)

"The Englishwoman." November. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"The Blue Book." (London: Crosby, Lockwood, and Son. Price 1s. net.)

"What's Wrong with the World?" By G. K. Chesterton. (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. Price 1s. net.)

"Woman in Modern Society." By Professor Earl Barnes. (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Educational Classics." (London: Edward Arnold. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

"The English Housewife of the 17th and 18th Centuries." By Rose M. Bradley. (London: Edward Arnold. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

"John and Irene." By W. H. Beveridge. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1912.

THE FAILURE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On Guy Fawkes' night the British House of Commons, two-thirds of whom were pledged up to the hilt to Woman Suffrage, voted by a majority of more than two to one to exclude women from the electorate of the new Irish Parliament. Of course, the pledge-breakers provided themselves with ample and sufficient reasons why on this particular occasion their pledges could not be kept. The fact that these reasons were mutually destructive mattered not in the very least. Any reason is good enough for a Member of Parliament; and there never was an occasion when an apparently excellent reason could not be fabricated for taking any step, however despicable or however dishonest. The wolf proved to his own satisfaction over and over again that he had been wronged so terribly by the lamb that to eat him was only to allow the claims of justice to take their necessary course. And the pages of history are full of living instances which show how truly the fable represents the fact.

In the present instance Woman Suffragists intending to betray the cause to which they had pledged themselves, relied principally on two main excuses. The first was that so important a question as Woman Suffrage ought not to be decided for Ireland alone, but ought to be decided for the whole of the British Isles at the same time. The second was that the Irish franchise was a question which ought to be decided locally, and consequently ought to be left for the subsequent decision of the Irish legislature. It does not seem to have occurred to these apologists that bad as each of these arguments was in itself, coupled together the two became farcical. For if the franchise for the Irish Parliament is so closely allied to that of the Imperial Parliament that the two ought to be on identical lines how can it possibly be wise to let the Irish legislature determine the issue? *Contrariwise* (as Tweedledee said), if Ireland ought to be left to settle the issue of its own franchise by itself, how can it be argued that the real decision ought to be made by the British House of Commons on the Electoral Reform Bill? But putting this absurdity aside, what nonsense it is to say that because subsequently on the Government's Franchise Bill the question of the suffrage for the Imperial Parliament may (or may not) be voted upon, therefore the House of Commons must not determine here and now what form a certain partial and subsidiary franchise shall assume. As to leaving the question to Ireland itself, the last thing which the Home Rule Bill actually does is to leave the question open; it comes down definitely on the side of an exclusively male electorate, and not only gives thereby the decision of the issue entirely into the hands of the men of the country, but over and above that, prohibits them from altering it in any way for a period of three years.

The real fact, of course, is that all the arguments put forward are dummy; they are the stage properties which look real enough to the young person who is witnessing the show for the first time, but which do not deceive the theatrical habitué any more than they do the actors on the stage. The men and women who understand the political players are not concerned with the stuff of which these arguments are made, they are concerned with the votes which these men gave. Let us consider them a little in detail.

The Conservative Party divided on the amendment along intelligible lines. The Suffragists voted for it, and the Anti-Suffragists against it. The Anti-Suffragists proved therefore by this vote that their idea of the local activities, in which they profess to believe women should have a share, are on a considerably smaller scale than those provided for in the Home Rule Bill.

The Irish Party voted solid against it, prominent Suffragists like Mr. William Redmond and Mr. Hugh Law actually raising their voices to support this course. From this women will realise what an extraordinary thing party loyalty must be which turns men who in private life are honourable and kindly into beings whose pledges are not worth the breath with which they are uttered.

The Liberal Party, with one or two honourable exceptions, voted obedient to the Party Whips in opposition to the amendment. By this action they justified absolutely the by-election policy which we have consistently upheld in these columns. We have said over and over again that when it came to an important issue the Liberal private Member was a mere soldier of the Government which he follows, that he would implicitly obey the lead given to him, and that his own private pledges were absolutely worthless. It must now be apparent to the most trusting woman in the country that this was the naked truth.

The Labour Party did not take any united action as a Party. Some twenty-eight voted in favour of the amendment and five voted against it. This makes it perfectly clear that they cannot be regarded in any sense as a Party pledged to Woman Suffrage. Moreover, two further considerations must be taken into account. Firstly, would the vote of the Labour Men have been even as good as it was if there had been a real chance of the amendment being carried? We should certainly like to think so, but, unfortunately, the evidence to the contrary is very strong. The *Times* Political Correspondent stated definitely in his notes on Friday last that the great majority of the Labour Party had decided to support the amendment *provided the position of the Liberal Government was not jeopardised thereby;* and we have independent authority for saying that this statement is substantially accurate; moreover, it is in line with the specific pronouncement of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that it was the policy of the Party not to let the Tories in. The second searching question which we should have to put would be: "Apart from allowing five of its members to vote against the amendment, did the Party really do all that it could in the matter?" The answer to this question is supplied not by ourselves, but by the action of six Suffrage stalwarts in the Labour ranks. After Mr. Snowden's amendment had been defeated, the question whether clause 9 itself (which establishes the franchise on the basis of the Imperial Parliament) should form part of the Bill was put from the chair. And in this division Snowden, Keir Hardie, Lansbury, Will Thorne, Thomas, and Richardson voted against the Government. Had the Labour Party voted solid in this division the Government majority would have sunk to a low figure; and if they persistently and relentlessly pursued this policy throughout, the day would come when they defeated the Government. The fact that they did not, and will not, take this course—as they would do if the Government and the Irish Party were deliberately preventing the passage of a true Labour measure, such as the reversal of the Osborne judgment, proves that Woman Suffrage is not a vital issue to the Party as a whole, and that however friendly individual Members may be, reliance on the Party as such is misguided and dangerous.

For women there is only one moral. The House of Commons as a body of independent honourable men is a myth; it has no more substance in fact than the legends of King Arthur or the tales of the Arabian Nights. The real House of Commons is a collection of well-meaning but impotent men, who, when they are not coerced by their constituencies, are driven like sheep by the Party Whips. It is of about as much use to appeal to the better instincts of the average private Member as it would be to hope to reassert one's claim to a meadow by offering a handful of fresh grass to a well-meaning sheep who was browsing in it.

Self-reliance, determination, a clear judgment, and, above all, a militant spirit translating itself into action, are the only things which are of the least use to women in this struggle. As soon as a sufficient number of women realise this, and not before, will the vote be won.

THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS

By Beatrice Harraden

The Duchess of Grachester sat stunned and horrified in her boudoir. She glared into the fire, seeing nothing, hearing nothing, heeding nothing, cut off, in fact, from all intercourse with the world which she knew and in which she played her prominent social part. Down her cheeks coursed truant tears unchecked, unnoticed. In her heart surged great emotions such as she had never before experienced during the whole of her life. Dim thoughts, shadowy doubts, vague misgivings, gleams of understanding and enlightenment had at times visited her in secret during these six or seven years of her avowed opposition to the Women's Suffrage Movement. They came and went like pale ghosts, never materialising into real existence. They left her as she was before, scornful, hostile, critical, contemptuously cold. But to-night they crowded on her in a ruthless company, and for the first time in the history of her inner conflict she made no attempt to withstand them. Everything had been changed for her that afternoon. She had been reached at last. And because she had been reached, the whole meaning of the movement and the hated militancy of it, so odious to her in all its expressions, had leapt across her mind like some blinding, illuminating flash of lightning, followed by the artillery of the thunderclap reverberating in all her being. *The White Slave Traffic. The White Slave Traffic.* If this hideous thing were true—and she knew now that it was true—what had the men been thinking of to let it go on year after year, to hush up the subject in a conspiracy of criminal silence, to block the feeble attempts at legislation against it, and deliberately to encourage it by passive if not active acquiescence? Oh, shame, shame on them, a thousand times shame! To have known it and done nothing—nothing that counted. And then to have the monstrous daring to assert that women's welfare and interests were safe in men's hands.

Safe, indeed! Safe, indeed! She spoke the words aloud with biting scorn. No wonder that the women had risen up to fight for freedom for their sex. And shame on her, yes, a thousand times shame on her, too, that she had stood aside, as their enemy, their critic, their accuser, their slanderer. If they and their leaders had known all along the fearful truths which she had learnt for the first time to-day, then all she could say was that she no longer marvelled at their violence. What she marvelled at was their moderation. For, oh, the appalling and tragic story told by the speaker at the afternoon meeting, and confirmed later in a private interview! Think of it—the little children—the young girls—the heartbreaking horror—the cruelty—the physical and spiritual degradation of young and helpless lives—the hopeless fate, the fearsome ending—the frightful statistics—a nightmare of truth.

For a long time she was held in bondage by these reflections, and when at last the tension was lessened, she found that the hour was late, and that she would have to hurry off immediately to attend a large Home Rule meeting in the Albert Hall, from which she had promised that she would not be absent, even if her husband, who was away in Scotland, were unable to return.

She left her food untouched, and, contrary to her habit, made no change in her dress, but just slipped into a long silk evening coat, leaving her fineries and her jewels discarded, and her lady's maid limp with astonishment over her unwonted indifference and her strange absent-mindedness. As she was stepping into her motor a telegram was brought her, telling her that an American friend who had arranged to join her at the Hall had been prevented by illness from venturing out that night. In ordinary circumstances she would have taken someone else, perhaps her secretary, perhaps the children's French governess, a very bright and cheerful companion, whom she greatly liked. But to-night, as she crushed the paper in her hand, she felt it would be a relief to be alone, to be free to make no efforts of courtesy or conversation, alone with that nightmare of truth from which there never would be any escaping until she had put her hand to the plough, somehow or other, she knew not how, but in some way, some definite way not clear to her now, but which she would find if she died for it. It was not enough to give her name or her money. She must give service. She must learn to speak, in any case. She must conquer her reluctance to be on a platform. She must find the pluck to stand up to his Grace, her husband, who entirely disapproved of any woman taking part in public life, and was a staunch anti-suffragist. And she must find the courage to encounter the sneers and taunts of her friends and intimates.

"Other women have done it," she said. "And why shouldn't I be able to do it?"

And again it was borne in on her what other women had been doing for the cause of women, and how they had given themselves, heart and soul, to this movement, sacrificing love and friendship, position, respect, peace, serenity, health, life. Even their bitterest enemies said that of them, and she amongst them. Well, well, it was not too late to take her part, and to-morrow she would go straight to that leader who had drawn the veil from her eyes, and she would say: "Here I take my stand, side by side with you, for the sake of those young children, those young girls whose record has broken my heart but girt my loins."

Thus encompassed by thought and resolution, Edith, Duchess of Grachester, arrived at the Albert Hall, and sat in her place alone, one of the many thousands who filled the vast building to overflowing. The organ ceased playing. The speakers, two of them Cabinet Ministers, came on to the platform. They were welcomed with great enthusiasm, and the audience stood up, shouted and clapped untiringly. At last, the chairman rose to make the opening address, and save for his telling voice, which reached in all directions, a deep silence settled over that great assembly, scarcely unbroken even by coughs, which were checked at the onset by the tenseness of an eager interest. He had spoken perhaps for twenty-five minutes, and had got his hearers enthralled by his power and personality, when suddenly from the far end of the Hall, in the arena, a woman rose and called out: "Votes for Women—Votes for Irishwomen and Englishwomen!"

A scene of indescribable fury and confusion followed. Stewards rushed up from all sides and set on her like wild beasts, and the audience helped them, her enemies themselves creating the uproar amidst which she was torn away from her place and removed. The Duchess of Grachester bent forward and watched. She had watched on other occasions, contemptuous and scornful, her heart and brain directed always against the interrupter. But now she shivered, and a curious chill crept over her. That was all.

Peace was restored. The speaker made no reference to the episode, and went on with his discourse. But he had not proceeded far when in the grand circle another woman rose.

"Votes for Women," she cried. "A Government measure! We insist on a Govern——"

Before she could finish her word she became the central figure of a battlefield, which would be a lasting disgrace in the annals of any so-called civilised country. She too was hounded off the scene, and again the turmoil subsided.

The Duchess of Grachester had again bent forward and watched. She was not cold any longer now. She was hot, burning hot, and her heart beat violently.

The speaker took up the broken thread of his address, but it was evident from his hesitating manner that the interruptions had begun to tell on his nerves. But he did not attend to the disturbances, and he expressed no wishes that the stewards should show self-control, or that the audience should remain passive. He was progressing fairly well and beginning to think that the dangers were safely over, when in the orchestra, on the right hand side of the organ, a woman got up and cried out in a clear voice which rang clarion-like through the hall: "Votes for Women and then there'll be no White Slave Traffic. The men can't be trusted to see to it alone."

An awful scene of assault and cruelty ensued, but until they had nearly throttled her, she still continued crying: "The men can't be trusted—the men can't be trusted."

Then the Duchess, her face drawn with mental strain, her eyes afire with indignation, her heart insurgent with the realisation of centuries of accumulated wrong and injustice done to her sex, sprang to her feet.

"She's right," she cried. "The men can't be trusted. Votes for Women and then we'll get rid of the White Slave Traffic."

The stewards dashed up to her and tried to fling her out, but she resisted with a dauntless courage and an amazing endurance, and cried:

"A dishonour to England, and our men have let it go on. Shame on them—shame on them. We women will do better. Votes for Women. Votes for Women."

Then they attacked her with redoubled fury, but she held her own even as her ancestor at the battle of Agincourt had held his own against overwhelming odds, until at last he was worsted. So with her. They closed on her, those brave Liberal stewards, kicked her in the stomach, twisted her arms, gagged her, throttled her, dashed her to the ground, and dragged her up the stairs towards the exit into the corridor. But before they had reached the topmost step, a man, who from an adjacent box had been watching the scene, unperturbed and unashamed, suddenly caught sight of the face of the victim. He leapt from the box.

"Good God!" he shouted. "Do you know whom you've got there? Stand back, you brutes! It's the Duchess of Grachester."

"*The Duchess of Grachester*," the stewards repeated in sudden horror and alarm, and they instantly ceased from their attack, released their hold and shrank back, whilst the man who had been the first to recognise her, knelt by her side, and doctors, full of grave concern, hastened to her aid. Everyone wanted to help her now. Everyone wanted to shield her now. But it was too late. She had compressed into those few brief moments of revolt and realisation a far-reaching piece of work for the cause of women.

She was dead They had killed her.

BEATRICE HARRADEN.

"THE GOOD HOPE"

A Suffragist Play by Accident

It is fairly safe to conclude that when Herman Heijermans wrote his play of "The Good Hope" he had not so much as a thought of the Woman's Movement in his mind. Yet no Suffragist—certainly no militant Suffragist—could have witnessed the interesting production of his play by Miss Edith Craig last Sunday evening, under the auspices of the Pioneer Players, without feeling grateful to Christopher St. John for having rendered into English this tragedy of the North Sea fisheries, of which the central idea shows so close a connection with the aims of the Suffragist. There is, of course, no extraordinary coincidence in this identity of thought. "The Good Hope" is a terribly poignant human story, and as such would be almost bound to reveal the condition of things that the Suffragist is out to revolutionise. It is, in fact, a Suffragist play by accident, simply because it is a sincere picture of the sufferings of humanity under a régime that is being attacked root and branch by the Suffrage movement.

"We have to pay dearly for the fish," say the wives and the widows, the sisters and the sweethearts of the men who are out battling with the storm in order that the markets may get their supplies and the smack-owner his profits. That is the burden of the play—the weighing of human life against property; and, in the play as in life, property wins, and the twelve men who go to sea in a boat that the owner knows to be a "floating coffin"—it is heavily insured—never come back. There are incidents that render the tragedy more poignant—the terror of the boy Barend, for instance, who has to be dragged on board by the harbour police, and the anguish of his mother, who, torn between honour and love, forces him to go; but the tragedy needs no more emphasis than is conveyed in the colloquial conversation of the women who sit over their coffee, enumerating the men they have given to the sea, one by one, while the storm rages outside. "We have to pay dearly for the fish," they say, as each one's tragedy is recalled and dismissed.

There are scenes in "The Good Hope" that are not easily forgotten. One of these occurs in the first act, when the mutineer Geert returns from gaol. His sensitiveness to light and sound, his feeling of rage and revolt against those who imprisoned him for a justifiable offence against discipline, above all, his description of the nights in a prison cell, "when you can't sleep, when you walk about, four steps this way, four steps that way, always four steps!"—all these things go home with particular force, perhaps, to those who have been through nights like that, but they cannot fail to impress also the least revolutionary of law-abiding citizens.

Last Sunday's production of the play was excellent in more ways than one. The acting was good in every case, and of a high order in more than one instance. Just to have Miss Ellen Terry on the stage was a rare privilege. What did it matter if she sometimes threw her words to the winds that raged round that little Dutch cottage? To hear her perfectly produced voice, to see her move about, to feel intensely every emotion of the old woman Kniertje as one did in her wonderful impersonation, all this was more than enough for any audience. Among the other players, Miss Ellen O'Malley, as her niece, gave a fine rendering of a strongly emotional part; Mr. E. Harcourt Williams, as the terrified Barend, played admirably in the great scene with his mother; and Mr. Godfrey Tearle gave an excellent performance as the returned convict. The staging expressed everything one has learnt to expect from Miss Edith Craig, and made of the production a series of perfectly lighted and perfectly harmonised pictures. With regard to the English of the play itself, we do not know the original Dutch, and cannot therefore say how closely the translator has kept to it. But it did not once convey the impression of being a translation; and in saying this we mean to pay Christopher St. John a high tribute.

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> "So little is our loss,
> So little is their gain."

In all ages men have smiled at each other's innocence. Those who "live in Freedom's company" smile to-day as such have always smiled, whether through dungeon bars, or by the glare of the stake, or in the gloom of legal robbery, at the eternal and irreclaimable "innocence" of potentates and powers. That weary proverb, "History repeats itself," has almost changed from a criticism into a maxim, and men justify the imbecilities of government by reminding themselves that law and order must be maintained. They do not say which law, or what order, and so they go innocently on, fancying in their timeworn way that they can break the intangible, suppress what they cannot even see. And as those in power never themselves go into our prisons to see how free women bear their tortures, or even come in person to watch the effect of taking away the household goods of those who love justice, they can still pretend to hold their blind tradition, that somehow, in some way, they will "break" those Suffragists, both men and women.

How good it would have been if some of our powerful and active opponents had had occasion to pass through Holmwood last Thursday. They might have asked the way, as one lady did while her motor was still twelve miles off, and been told, as she was, to "follow the crowd." "What crowd?" they would have bewilderedly asked; and when answered, "Why, the Mascot sale," would they, I wonder, have driven hurriedly home, or would mere human curiosity have beckoned them on?

At "The Mascot," if they had arrived late and got through the vivid crowd in front of the house, they might have reached a closely-packed room where a gentleman in a very shining hat was making strange sounds as he offered this or that "lot" for auction. This gentleman was busy; through the packed doorway his men forced in and forced out the household furniture of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. In the hands of those alien men everything seemed strange and impersonal. One felt that a home was being desecrated, that the little things dear to intimate life were being hurried through the mass of people; one felt sorry for the things, "the goods," being handled as they never had been before. The fabric of daily life is built up of inanimate as well as animate things, and within this auction room there was a sense of sacrilege that must have made the most casual spectator ask, "Why is it done?"

Why was it done? Outside, half an hour before, first Mr. Lawrence and then Mrs. Lawrence had told the tense crowd why they thought it well worth while not merely to risk their property, but to endanger their lives in the cause of the enfranchisement of women. In dignified words of explanation and defiance they put their case before their listeners. In that audience were several elements. A great number of members of the Women's Social and Political Union had come to pay their tribute of loyalty and affection to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; the Women's Tax Resistance League had come forward splendidly to support what was in essence an application of their own principle; other Suffrage societies were represented; friendly neighbours of "The Mascot" had come to show sympathy; and, finally, there was the inevitable element of people, mostly men, who came from curiosity and perhaps with a half-hope that there might be some "Suffragette disturbance." The last element was disappointed, subdued, and left thoughtful. They had probably looked for some sensation, either ludicrous or pathetic. What they saw before them was merely the impotence of the law.

While Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence were speaking, standing against the white background of their pretty home, above their heads from upper windows peered the faces of bailiffs and bailiffs' men. "The Government chooses to put burglars into my house," said Mr. Lawrence, combining admirable wit and wisdom. "I am not repentant," he said later, and his audience knew that in his lack of repentance lay great hope for the future of Women.

Strangers who had come from curiosity felt uncomfortably that this was not what they had expected. They had come to see a rebel's possessions "sold up," and they found that the rebel was not thinking about his possessions at all, but about the needs of the wives, daughters, and sisters of every man present. This effect was crystallised when Mrs. Lawrence, pale and tranquil, came forward to speak. She spoke for ten minutes only, and the impression of her speech was the inviolability of the soul. I cannot recall her words, but I know that she stood there as the representative of the unconquerable militancy of awakened women. There are things no one can touch or assail, and the secret of militant women is that they have withdrawn themselves to the company of those things, and that imprisonment and pain, ridicule and contumely, loss of money and possessions, and even of friends, are powerless to affect that inner centre of confidence and courage. This great "blow" from the Government left its victims untouched, and the spectators wondering why any Government should prefer to show itself ridiculous and degraded rather than pass a simple measure of justice to women.

It was a day of many changes. Thirty miles from London the trees are still cones of golden leaves, and the rain and the sunshine chased each other like the whims of April. So in our hearts too, while we felt the indignation and impatience roused by this outrage on private life, still we all felt thankful that we had with us a man and woman facing this crisis, and whatever may follow it, not because they were forced to, but because they felt it to be right. And, after all, it was a great meeting of friends. The Government's attacks only sow the seeds of fresh love, and we may say to Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence:

> "Ye have great allies:
> Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
> And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

J. E. M. B.

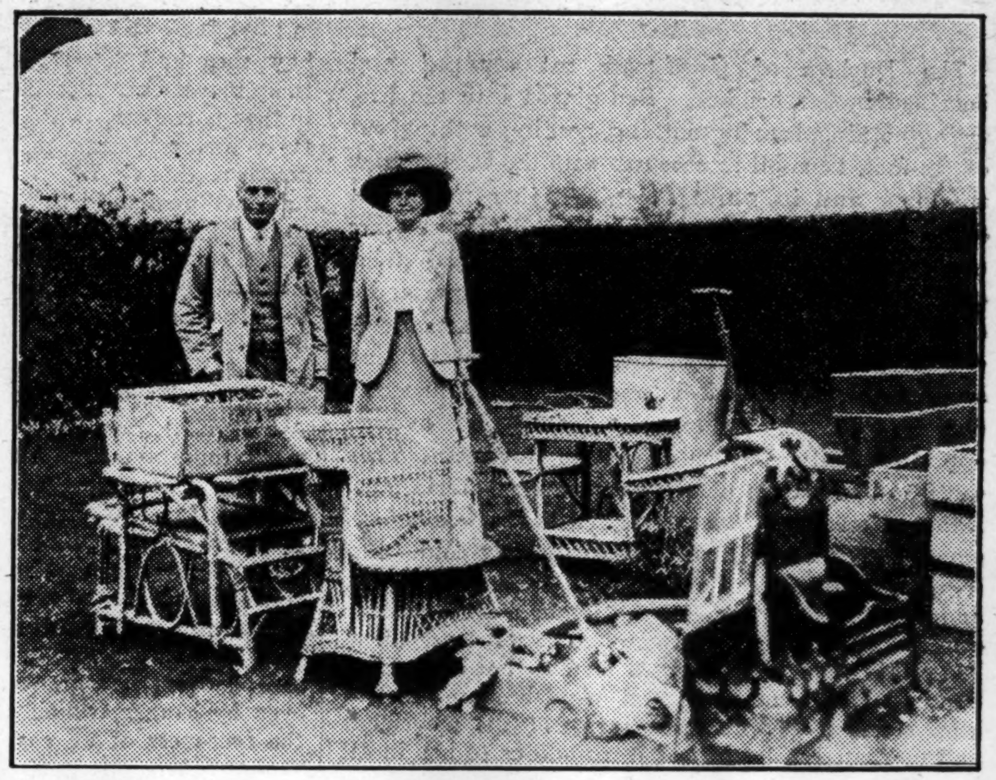
THE SALE

Guided by a gay little motor-car that flew backwards and forwards showing posters inviting you to the Mascot, the crowd of militant women and their men friends who had travelled from London and elsewhere to Holmwood on October 31 found their way to the home of the Editors of Votes for Women.

There were excellent sales of the pamphlet "A Man's Share" (Mr. Pethick Lawrence's speech from the dock during the Conspiracy Trial) and of Votes for Women, and the invasion of Suffragettes was an opportunity eagerly seized by inquiring minds for learning something about those dreadful people, the Suffragettes, of whom they had previously only read in the newspapers.

At one o'clock Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence arrived, and were greeted with ringing cheers. The circular drive was filled with an enthusiastic audience, which made it seem quite like a "really truly" suffrage meeting. Pressmen and photographers, the latter balancing themselves on whatever vantage points offered, gathered round, and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, standing on a table which later in the day came under the hammer, addressed the crowd.

At the conclusion of the speeches there was more cheering, and then Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, standing among some of their possessions on the lawn, were once more photographed.



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MR. AND MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

(Photograph taken on the lawn)

In the dainty little white-walled drawing-room the sale proceeded all the afternoon, and those who were not able to obtain admission wandered round the garden and inspected the new billiard-room, the bird-pond and rosery, and the famous tree with its rustic gallery.

The whole 280 lots were disposed of during the afternoon, and fetched about £300. The great majority of them were bought by members of the Women's Social and Political Union and other sympathisers with the cause. It is understood that they intend to lend them to Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence for the present.

THE SPEECHES

Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, addressing a large gathering outside the house, said: Ladies and gentlemen,—All of you here, whatever views you may hold with regard to the action which has led to this sale to-day, know perfectly well that this is not an ordinary sale by Sheriff's officers of the furniture and belongings of anyone's house. That is usually a very sordid affair. But here all of you, from those who think what we did was right down to those who think our action most reprehensible, know quite well that what is going on in this garden at the present time is part of a great political struggle. You recognise also that we ourselves have done what we did because we believed it was right; and each individual must take that action which he himself approves.

This sale and these whole proceedings arise out of a prosecution that was held in March of the present year, and that prosecution was the result of certain actions that were taken by my wife and myself in conjunction with a very large number of other people a few days earlier, when a great protest was made in London by women.

I do not propose to say much to you this afternoon on the main question of why women want the Vote—that is a very big question, and I could spend hours talking about it; but I want to say this, that to us it is not at all an *academic* question. It is not a question for debating about. It is a real and very urgent question that we feel carries with it the whole prosperity of this nation—(hear, hear)—and, in particular, the well-being of the women and children in it. I am only going to refer to two particular issues. One is the fact, which is a hideous scandal, that any one of your daughters at any time may be captured and taken away to live in some foreign country a life of shame. The other is the fact that in this country of ours many thousands of little babies die in the first year of their lives. Every woman who is taken away is a disgrace which burns itself into the hearts of those of us who are fighting this battle; every little child whose life might have been saved means a waste of the anguish and pain of a mother who gave it birth. It is for these reasons, and many others, that we regard this question as one so vital and urgent that we have been prepared, and a great number of women have been prepared, to stake their personal liberty in the fight, and that is why that fight has been going on all these years.

Why Women Threw Stones

With regard to what took place last March in London, I am going to say to you that women made their protest by throwing stones on that occasion, because on a former occasion, when they went absolutely unarmed and defenceless to the House of Commons, they were set upon and brutally injured and assaulted in indescribable ways, so that one of them died, and some of them have not yet recovered. Women said, we prefer to break a few panes of glass to having our bodies broken and ourselves insulted. So they went out and threw stones. In consequence of that, my wife and I and others were arrested suddenly, and taken off to prison. Our house was searched; our papers turned out and taken by the police. When it came to the trial itself, they did not succeed in bringing one single piece of evidence of anything dishonourable or underhand that we had done, and the result of it was, that when our case was taken at the Old Bailey, the jury, though they felt it necessary to return a verdict of "guilty," added a rider in which they expressed their opinion of the absolute purity of our motives that led up to that action. I am not going to tell you any more about the defence because a little pamphlet ("The Man's Share") which some of you have already got, gives the speech I made on that occasion in full.

Now after the jury had returned their verdict, and had given that rider to which I have just referred, the judge passed sentence upon us of nine months' imprisonment in the Second Division, and he further imposed a fine upon Mrs. Pankhurst and myself by ordering us to pay all the costs of the prosecution.

First of all, with regard to the imprisonment. We went to prison determined that as we were political offenders, we should not be treated except as political offenders; and our view was upheld by people all over the civilised world. The Prime Minister of Australia, the Prime Minister of another part of the Australian Commonwealth, notable men and women in France, in Germany, in America, in South Africa, and many other parts of the world sent a protest to the British Government demanding that we should be treated as political offenders, and as the result of that protest we were transferred to what is called the First Division in prison. But though they did that for us they did not treat in the same way the women who had been taking part in the protest for which we had been found guilty, and, therefore, when they

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MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE ADDRESSING THE CROWD said, "We, too, insist upon being treated as first class prisoners," we agreed with them that they ought to have the same treatment as ourselves, and when they started their protest by means of the hunger strike we started a sympathetic strike with them. To force us into submission, the Government adopted a course of forcible feeding, a form of torture, but after a few days they found my wife and myself in our respective prisons brought down to the verge of the grave, and for that reason they let us out, not daring to keep us in any longer. We were both released. We were exceedingly ill, and went to Canada.

I Shall Fight Them to the End

While we were there the Government dealt a second blow at us which related to the cost of the prosecution, and they came here and took possession of the inside of this house in order to satisfy their claims. With regard to that, I wish to point out that the law enabling them to take this course was only passed in 1908, and I do not think that there is any precedent for such action, it is simply a form of political persecution. When I came back from Canada and found what was happening, there were only two courses open; either I could pay the money or I could fight the Government. And just as I fought in my person when I went to prison and submitted to forcible feeding rather than give way, so I decided I was not going to give way financially because the Government came and put burglars into my house. I am going to stand and fight them to the end! (Cheers.)

There are only three points more I wish to make. Firstly, with regard to the bailiffs who came down into the house and the auctioneer who is going to sell to-day. I think I should be perfectly entitled to say to them, "You are soldiers fighting under the banner of the Government, and I am going to fight you for all I am worth. I am going to make the task as unpleasant for you as possible, because if you choose to fight under that flag you must take the consequences." I do not take that course, however, because I recognise that these men have a living to make, and if they stood out against the Government in this matter their living would be lost, and I ask all of you here who regard the Government as an enemy which should be brought to submission, to take the same view I do with regard to those who are conducting this sale and to give them your courtesy.

In the second place, I want to say that I do not know whether this sale will realise the whole of the money which the Government are expecting to get. (Laughter.) Very likely it will not. Then we are still going on fighting the Government in regard to this question. If they take further steps which they think are going to be more drastic to bring me to book, they will take these steps in vain so far as my will is concerned, and I shall resist by every means open to me to do so.

Thirdly, recognizing as I do that the protest made last March was made because of the treachery and the trickery of the Government, and because of the physical brutality shown to women on Black Friday, my position to-day is precisely the same position as it was eight months ago. I am not contrite, I am not repentant. And if circumstances of the same kind arose again I should follow identically the same course which I took on that occasion. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. Lawrence's Speech

Ladies and gentlemen, neighbours and friends,—You have come from far and near to attend this sale to-day. Some of you have come on business, some of you are here as our friends, to give us the support of your sympathy and fellowship, some of you have come as an act of neighbourliness because we live amongst you and have been known in this place for many years. You are all welcome.

Our household possessions, endeared to us by usage and wont, are spread out to your view, and will presently be knocked down to the highest bidder. But we to whom these have belonged are bidding for a far greater prize to-day. You remember those words of England's great poet, Milton, "O Liberty, thou choicest treasure!" Liberty is more than material possession and more than life. But it costs dear, and Destiny, the great auctioneer, is relentless.

There is also another treasure whose value is above all material possessions, and that is *Human Life.* For that we stand in our great struggle for the emancipation of women. We are ready to be deprived of all we possess if by that means we can bear witness to those two ideas, the supreme value of human liberty and the sacredness of human life.

Those are the two ideas that underlie all that great campaign that we have waged for the last six years, which we still wage to-day, and of which this enforced sale is the outcome.

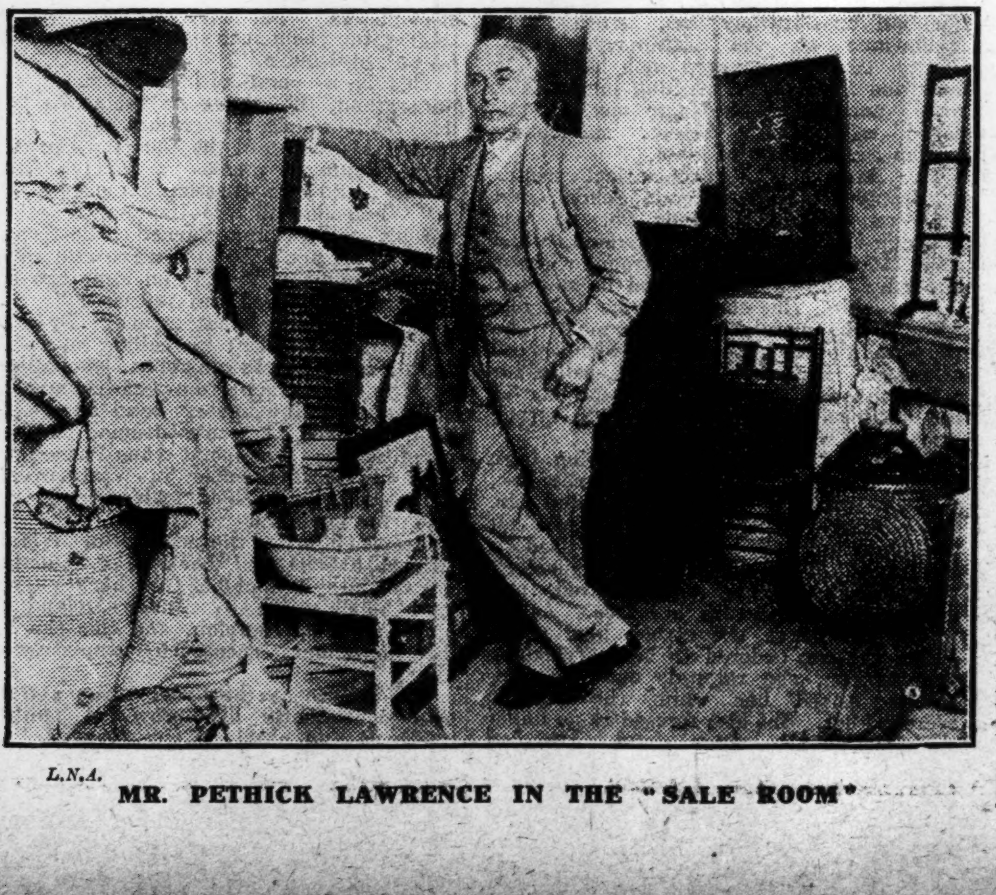
This is not the time or the place to explain and follow out this thought or to enter into the discussion of that great question of women's enfranchisement. I hope that my neighbours in Holmwood will give me the opportunity some day very soon of explaining my position with regard to it. I have a great deal to say to them on this subject.

To-day we testify to our faith in the language of action rather than that of words. This sale is but one phase of the great battle for liberty which our fathers and mothers have fought in the past, and which we and those associated with us are fighting now, and for which we are content to endure whatever may yet be in store for us.

We are fighting this battle to-day with the Government in power, who are trying to hold down women in political subjection, while they further insult us with a Manhood Suffrage Bill, by which they seek to make irresponsible youths of twenty-one our masters. They have tried by every means in their power to crush the women and the men who have dared to stand out against this wrong. They have had us assaulted and flung out of meetings with ruthless brutality, horribly injured by their paid police for attempting to exercise our right of personal petition; they have imprisoned us, they have insulted us, their political opponents, by having us treated in prison as common criminals; they have met our protest against this iniquity with torture. With jibes and jeers they have had tubes thrust by force into our bodies, thus violating our persons so long as they could do so without actually committing murder. They have brought us one by one to the very edge of the grave, and have then flung back our tottering bodies to our friends.

Having failed to terrorize this movement by violence, they have now carried their attack on to the financial plane. They now seek to damage us in our property in the same spirit as they have injured us in our person.

But they have utterly failed in their object, which is to kill the spirit of liberty, and they will in the future most ignominiously fail. We shall fight them to the finish, and I dare to prophesy that it is they—not we—who are going to be finished.



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MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN THE "SALE ROOM"

This is not an occasion of mourning, but an occasion of thankfuless. We esteem it a great privilege to be able thus to bear witness to our convictions. To all fighters comes the joy of battle which wipes out all sense of loss. We should like this day to be to you all what it is to us—a day filled with the assurance that right can never be worsted, that wrong can never triumph, that human oppression and injustice shall be swept away and that righteousness, liberty, and truth shall prevail.

An Interesting Point

Under the heading, "Wanted, Reciprocal Responsibility," the *Financial News* publishes the following comment from "A Correspondent" on the Holmwood Sale:—

The point for the public to remember is that if the Public Prosecutor takes proceedings against Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and obtains a conviction, he can sell Mr. Pethick Lawrence's household goods in order to get his costs; but if the Public Prosecutor had taken proceedings against Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and if the jury had brought in a verdict of "not guilty," and if it had been shown that the prosecution was utterly baseless from first to last, Mr. Pethick Lawrence would have had no recourse against the Public Prosecutor for his costs.

If, in the circumstances supposed, of a verdict of "not guilty," Mr. Pethick Lawrence could have demonstrated that the amount expended on his defence had practically ruined him, and that the anxiety attendant upon it had permanently injured his health, his request for the repayment of his costs would still have been received with "official laughter." The citizen is held financially responsible: the Public Prosecutor is wholly irresponsible. Such a state of things is an utter anachronism in a modern civilised State. The Public Prosecutor should be liable in costs where a prosecution fails. In so serious a matter as a criminal prosecution the doctrine of "heads I win and tails you lose" is out of place.

THE ROUT OF THE HOME SECRETARY

Performing His "Simple Duty"

At the Holborn Hall, last Monday evening, Mr. McKenna discovered, not for the first time, that it is impossible for a Cabinet Minister to make any appearance in public without being reminded of his betrayal of the women's cause in allowing the Government to bring in a Bill to give votes to men only. According to the guileless view of the *Westminster Gazette*, the Home Secretary went to the Holborn Hall "to perform a simple duty." The Home Secretary seemed to share this view of his presence there when he took the chair and endeavoured to introduce Mr. J. A. Spender, who, under the auspices of the National Council of Public Morals, was to read a paper on "The Influence of the Press on Public Morals."

"My duty is a very simple one," began Mr. McKenna. Was it fancy, or did we really hear a note of appeal in his voice? Quick as thought came the ringing response of the voteless woman, afire with her sense of injustice and wrong.

"And that is to give votes to women," she told him.

The audience stirred sensitively. It was easy to grasp that it was very largely on the side of the interrupter.

The Home Secretary made another attempt to introduce the lecturer. "The subject is——"

"Votes for women!" shouted more than one voice. Such an opening had been irresistible, and while the chairman vainly tried to resume his remarks the sympathetic murmur in the hall resolved itself into a chorus of open support of the Suffragist interrupter who sat in the second row of chairs. She was among the few who were able to follow the Home Secretary's efforts to proceed with the duties of chairmanship, and as soon as he was understood to say that the help of women was needed for the furtherance of the work of the National Council, she struck in with a defiant remark that went straight to the point.

"Go back to the House of Commons, then," she cried. "You can't have the help of women until they're enfranchised!"

Mr. McKenna made a fresh attempt to talk about Mr. J. A. Spender. The insistent voice stopped him again: "Don't come here, Mr. McKenna, to insult women. Go back to the House of Commons and give votes to women!"

Several stewards rushed up to the owner of the voice and removed her from her seat to another one in the middle aisle. Loud cries of "Shame!" greeted this attempt to eject her, and uproar reigned for some moments. Finally she was taken out of the hall. The report that she was tied to her chair is inaccurate. The delay in ejecting her arose chiefly from the fact that the majority of the audience did not wish to see her ejected.

The tumult did not die down after her departure, and the Home Secretary, whose remarks floated through the noise in broken sentences, said something about effecting a compromise, and reserving what he had to say until the end of the meeting. He then appeared to be introducing Mr. Spender to the audience, and sat down, upon which quiet was restored and reigned until the close of the lecture.

Mr. Spurgeon (of Cassell's), in proposing a vote of thanks to the Home Secretary—it would be interesting to know for what—remarked that he hoped Mr. McKenna would say a word to them before he left, "but this rested with others." It did. When Mr. McKenna again opened his lips to speak the "others" did the same. The vote of thanks when put to the meeting was received with mingled cheers and groans. Mr. McKenna's reply to it was quite inaudible. Suffragists all over the hall, both men and women, were loudly voicing their indignation with him, both as a member of an anti-Suffrage Government and as the Home Secretary responsible for the torture of women in prison. In despair of making any impression upon the meeting, he declared it closed. It was not closed, however.

The uproar had by this time assumed such serious proportions that when the party on the platform endeavoured to make their way out along the middle aisle an ugly rush was made at the Home Secretary. People were nearly swept off their feet, chairs were overturned and broken, and angry expressions were hurled at the unpopular Minister. A bodyguard was hastily formed for his protection, and he was seen to hurry in most undignified manner through a side-door.

His troubles were not over then. A gathering murmur of threatening voices in the street outside told of the crowd that was waiting for Mr. McKenna there. His protectors dare not let him face it. Ignorant, apparently, of the geography of the building, they made their way up and down dark passages until the backyard was reached—what would our Cabinet do without back doors?—and a taxi-cab was procured. Into this, guarded by police, the Home Secretary plunged ignominiously, and so, by a strategy, he was enabled to escape the women whom he cannot face, "because their cause is just."

"The Scuttle of a Rabbit"

[*From an Eye Witness*]

From the point of view of the Suffragist, the meeting held by the National Council of Public Morals for the Regeneration of the Race was a great success. Mr. McKenna, as chairman, attempted to open the meeting by saying that his task was a very simple one, to which a lady immediately responded, "And that is to give votes to women." He made another attempt to speak, saying that the help of women was needed, and promptly received the answer, "You will not get the help of women until they are enfranchised. You had better go back to the House of Commons, Mr. McKenna!" The interrupter was ejected. Mr. McKenna then said he would postpone what remarks he had to make to the end of the meeting, and called upon Mr. Harold Spender to read his paper. The Home Secretary made no attempt during the evening to fulfil the duties of chairmanship, but delegated them to a gentleman sitting on his right hand.

At the close of the meeting he once more attempted to return thanks for the vote of thanks which had been accorded him. He was greeted with an outburst of cries from all over the hall, "Sit down!" "Shame on the man who forcibly fed women," and various other remarks of a like nature. He was totally unable to make himself heard. The attendants attempted to clear the hall, and during this proceeding the Home Secretary stood on the platform with a fixed smile upon his face. One lady went forward and said to him, "This is no laughing matter, Mr. McKenna." To which he replied, "I entirely agree." "Very well, then, why do you laugh?" she persisted, and continued to press upon him the urgency of women's enfranchisement. In some hesitation, Mr. McKenna left the platform and proceeded down a side aisle towards a side door, still greeted with cries from both men and women Suffragists in the hall. His final and extremely undignified bolt through this side-door can only be compared with the scuttle of a rabbit taking refuge in its burrow.

GUERILLA WARFARE

MR. HOBHOUSE "HELD UP"

A significant incident, described as "a remarkable ten minutes," occupied a column of the *Manchester Guardian* on Wednesday morning. The occurrence took place at a meeting in Knutsford Town Hall on Tuesday evening, when the principal speaker was Mr. C. E. Hobhouse. There were frequent interruptions from militant suffragists, and one of these contrived to make it impossible, for quite ten minutes, for Mr. Hobhouse to continue his speech. "When her purpose of creating a scene became plain," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "a young man sprang from a front seat, and, seizing her by the arm, endeavoured to drag her to a door beside the platform. He was ill-advised and inexcusably violent." Two ladies (Mrs. Tomlinson, a member of the N.S.W.S.S., and Mrs. Haworth, an anti-suffragist, and wife of the chairman) tried to persuade her to leave, but in vain, and the meeting was at a standstill. The chairman again appealed to her to cease her disturbance of the meeting, but from her demeanour it was evident that she was obdurate. A messenger, who was sent to bring in the police, returned with the message that they declined to interfere. The meeting was by now showing signs of getting out of hand. Men got up to protest against a single woman being allowed to stop Mr. Hobhouse's speech, and from the back of the hall came shouts of annoyance and cries of "Throw her out."

Mrs. Haworth asked that at the close of Mr. Hobhouse's speech the interrupter should be permitted to ask questions, and the latter promised not to interrupt again if this were granted.

The chairman, having consulted Mr. Hobhouse, said: "Mr. Hobhouse is not here to answer questions but to make a speech. If you like to put questions to Mr. Oliver, our prospective candidate, you can do so afterwards." The interrupter replied: "But he is not in the Cabinet," at which there was laughter.

"May I ask Mr. Hobhouse," said Mrs. Tomlinson, "to make some concessions? We have not got votes, and he might answer questions. I have done my best to keep the meeting quiet, and I am a constitutional suffragist. I appeal to Mr. Hobhouse to do his best."

Mr. Hobhouse: My dear madam, you know I am absolutely opposed to the granting of votes to women. (Loud cheers.) I have said so plainly, and you know that as well as I do.

Mrs. Tomlinson: I do.

Mr. Hobhouse: Therefore there is no reason in your asking me any questions.

Mrs. Tomlinson explained that she did not wish to ask questions. She was a constitutional suffragist and had interposed to avert a greater disturbance. The constitutional suffragists were utterly opposed to violence.

There were again angry cries in the meeting, and turning round on those who were shouting Mrs. Tomlinson exclaimed, "How dare you!" while Mrs. Haworth said, "I am an anti-suffragist—a very strong anti-suffragist—but I do not want any woman to be thrown out."

"We Shall Lose Mr. Hobhouse . . ."

Mr. Hobhouse left his chair and made his way towards the platform steps, apparently with the intention of leaving the meeting. This brought the Chairman to his feet with another request to the militant suffragist to leave the hall. "We shall lose Mr. Hobhouse," he said, "if we do not come to a decision soon." He added that Mr. Oliver would be ready later on to answer questions.

The interrupter: I want to ask Mr. Hobhouse how he dares——

This brought about the end. A number of men surrounded the Suffragist and began pushing her to the door at the far end of the hall. This, says the *Manchester Guardian*, was a mistake. To have forced her through the crowd of men at the back would have been both difficult and dangerous. The platform door was close at hand, and stewards ran forward to secure for her the safest exit. For a moment there was reason to fear that she would be hurt, as she was being pulled both ways, but the stewards asserted their authority, and the Suffragist, incapable, of course, of resisting half-a-dozen men, was ejected. Mr. Hobhouse, coming to the front of the platform, twice shouted to the stewards, "Don't hurt her in any way." Her parting shot was, "Talk about anything you like, but don't let it be self-government." The reference was to the principle Mr. Hobhouse had laid down that good government must be self-government.

We have not space to report the other interruptions, which it is evident, from the report quoted above, were plainly called forth by various statements made in Mr. Hobhouse's speech, and were, moreover, very much to the point.

MR. BUXTON AT POPLAR

A correspondent writes:—

It was not possible to obtain an invitation to the prize-giving of the L.C.C. school for girls and boys at Poplar Town Hall on the evening of October 31, but my conscience warned me that I should not sleep peacefully in my bed that night if I missed any opportunity of reminding a member of the Cabinet of the women's demand. So I made my way to the Hall, trying, as well as I was able, to look like a proud parent, and, with the usual Suffragette good fortune, I managed to evade the vigilance of the officials who were most carefully scrutinizing all tickets, and secured a seat in the second row behind the scholars. First of all, the headmaster read an account of the year's work, and particularly commented on the work of two boy prizewinners; indeed, he only mentioned the word "girls" once during his whole speech. The Chairman, Lord Cheylesmore, then spoke, also entirely about the education of boys, and dwelt on the necessity of providing games and sports for them. It was, indeed, an unintentional object lesson from a Suffrage point of view, and I listened as well as the thumping of my heart would permit.

When Mr. Sydney Buxton got up to make the principal speech of the evening, a lady in front of me whispered to her friend, "Now for the Suffragettes." But I waited to let him get well started, and when he said he thought the organisation of playing grounds for the boys should be put into the hands of the L.C.C., I stood up, and said, for the benefit of the crowded audience, "Mr. Buxton, do you not think it is time the Government gave women a hand in the organisation of the country? As a Cabinet Minister we hold you responsible for the continued disfranchisement of women. We demand a Government measure, nothing else will satisfy us, and there will be no peace until we get it."

It is not often that one has the opportunity of giving a Cabinet Minister so much useful information, but the audience and officials were taken by surprise, and had to collect their breath and their wits. Then about six men in uniform arrived at the same moment, but they were wearing white cotton gloves in honour of the occasion, and, in consequence, it took them longer than they expected to unfasten my hands from the back of the chair in front of me.

Mr. Buxton sat down, and the Chairman stood up and, speechless, pointed helplessly at me. By this time the audience was making a splendid uproar, so I saved my breath till I had been propelled to the exit; then I turned round with a shout of "Votes for Women," and walked down the stairs and out into the street with my head held very high, followed as far as the pavement by a worried man in white cotton gloves, who was torn between his appointed duty and his sympathy with our demand. As I passed the hall-keeper on my way out, and he politely held the door open for me, I complimented him on the moderate conduct of his men, who could have given a lesson in behaviour to Liberal stewards.

Outside, I found my friends holding a street-corner meeting almost opposite the Hall, and when, in due course, Mr. Buxton was hurried down the steps and bundled into his motor, he drove off amid a chorus of demands that our question shall be settled.

G.

MR. BARNES, M.P., AT OXFORD

(From a Correspondent.)

Militant Suffragists were present in force to hear Mr. Barnes in the Corn Exchange on Friday last, address a meeting arranged by the Co-operative Society.

Mr. Barnes and a woman in the middle of the hall rose simultaneously. When the former discovered he was being asked to see that Ramsay Macdonald kept his promise made at the Albert Hall, he resumed his seat, whilst the Chairman explained it was not a Votes for Women meeting, but that the question should be discussed at the end of Mr. Barnes's speech. Labour members have yet to realise that all their meetings will be on the subject of Votes for Women for the future, and Mr. Barnes was treated to a running fire of commentary throughout his speech. "Let us take a historical view of the subject," he said, referring to Co-operation. "There are plenty of precedents for voting against the Government,'' said a Suffragette." "I am a dreamer," he said, in his peroration, "and I don't mind being called one so long as I dream in company with my fellow-workers." A voice: "You're all asleep in Parliament." "Quite right, miss!" said a working-man, amid general laughter.

The excitement rose as time passed. When the speaker sat down there were loud cries of, "The question!" Mr. Barnes then proceeded to explain the policy of the Labour Party: "It would do what it had always done in the past." (Cries of "Precious little!" and "That's nothing to be proud of!") "Sir Edward Grey would move the deletion of the word 'male' from the Franchise Bill. (Hisses.) "What do you hiss Grey for?" asked this faithful henchman of the Liberal Cabinet. The answer came quickly: "Grey should never have permitted that word to come into the bill." "Then Votes for all women," he proceeded, "would come before the House. If that failed, votes for married women; and if that failed, votes for a few propertied women." "We don't want it!" "Not good enough!" the women said.

A Suffragette then made a short speech, and asked definitely—would Mr. Barnes vote against the Goverment? "No," he said, "I won't. I admit the position of women for the time being would be worse if the Bill went through without them, but I have three sons of my own, they'd get it, and numbers of young men would get it, and plural voting would be abolished."

"Then you are willing to take votes for all men on the strength of the women's agitation? Shame on you!"

"I shall vote as I say, unless my colleagues decide to do otherwise," said Mr. Barnes, and naively admitted that Ramsay MacDonald would not keep his pledge. "Why don't you keep your leader in order?" was the retort.

At that, the Chairman called on the choir for some more singing, and the Suffragettes rose and filed out, with—"George Lansbury is the only man amongst you," for a parting shot.

MORE PILLAR-BOXES

The pillar-box war, says the *Daily Sketch*, is a guerilla affair. Making his collection from a box in Richmond Road, Kew Gardens, a postman found among the letters a bottle of black varnish, with the cork removed, in an envelope on which were written the words "Votes for Women." The varnish had obliterated the addresses of some of the letters in the box. Another paper says that an unsealed envelope, marked "Votes for Women," containing an uncorked bottle of a solution of permanganate of potash, was dropped through the opening of the box outside Kew Green Post Office. When the postman made the collection it was discovered that the liquid had soaked through and spoiled upwards of seventy letters and other postal packages. It is stated that two well-dressed ladies had been seen near the pillar-box, and the police have circulated a description, as it is considered that they may have been connected with the occurrence.

AN ABERDEEN INCIDENT

On Wednesday in last week, a woman (supposed to be a Suffragist) was observed at work on one of the windows of the Post Office in Crown Street, Aberdeen. Inspection revealed the fact that the window had been smeared with some sticky substance apparently in preparation for breaking the window. There were also discovered a hammer, some papers, and a poem. On a paper were the words written: "Votes for Women," "Dare to be free." The police, says the Press, are making inquiries.

TWO ARRESTS IN DUNDEE

At Dundee on Friday in last week Miss Ellison Gibb and Miss Fanny Farquhar (remanded from Wednesday) were charged with having maliciously broken a pane of glass in the window of Dundee Savings Bank and a pane of glass in the window of the Inland Revenue offices in Bank Street, Dundee. They were sentenced to three days' imprisonment, during which time they carried out the hunger-strike. They were released on Monday last.

LIVERPOOL SUFFRAGIST SENT FOR TRIAL

The Liverpool Stipendiary, on Tuesday, sent Miss Margaret Louise Ker, daughter of Dr. Alice Ker, of Birkenhead, and student of Liverpool University, for trial at the Manchester Assizes on a charge of setting fire to the contents of a pillar letter-box in Liverpool. Miss Ker, who had already explained that she did it as a Suffragist, injured both her hands with phosphorus. She was allowed bail in the sum of £20.

MISS ETHEL MOORHEAD'S CASE

Miss Ethel Moorhead, one of the women ejected from Sir Rufus Isaac's meeting in Edinburgh on October 4, surrendered to her bail on Saturday last, before Bailie Macfarlane at the Edinburgh Police Court. She was charged with having (1) assaulted Peter Ross, striking him with a whip; and (2) on the same day, in the police cells, High Street, maliciously broken seven panes of glass.

Mr. Peter Ross, mathematical master at Broughton Higher Grade School, said that on Friday, October 25, he was teaching the class of junior students when Miss Moorhead entered the room without knocking. As she approached he saw her raise a whip. She shouted something like "You're the man that struck me." The whip was tied to her left wrist with a piece of velvet. He caught her arm, called for a boy to open the door, and took her to the headmaster's room, where she struck him again with her fist.

Police and other evidence having been given, Miss Moorhead, in the witness-box, said she went to the school to find Mr. Peter Ross, the man who sat beside her and assaulted her at Sir Rufus Isaacs's meeting. While in the headmaster's room Mr. Ross was very excited, and flourished his hand in her face. As he would not desist she struck him again. When she was ordered to be searched by the matron, she refused, but two constables seized her while the matron searched her. She also refused to go under the measuring gauge, and struggled violently. In the course of her struggles she was thrown to the ground. She was lifted up again, but the constables did not succeed in getting her beneath the apparatus. At the door of the cell the watch was wrenched from her wrist, her glasses, hat, and money were taken away, and the woman again searched her, and she was also searched before being taken into the cell. She was given a piece of dry bread without water. She broke the windows in the cell because she thought she had been treated with undue violence. It was a lie to say that she tried to bite any of the men.

Mr. Maquisten asked the Bench to note the following question, which he desired to put to Miss Moorhead: "In what way were you treated by Mr. Peter Ross at Sir Rufus Isaacs's meeting?"

The Prosecutor objected to the question, and the objection was sustained.

The Magistrate refused to allow Miss Moorhead to speak, and imposed a fine of £1, with the alternative of ten days' imprisonment. The fine was paid under protest, and an appeal was lodged.

THE IRISH PRISONERS

A Dublin correspondent writes:—

"Since the release of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, the only Suffragist prisoners in Mountjoy (Dublin) have been the four remaining members of the Irish Women's Franchise League—Miss Maud Lloyd, Miss Hilda Webb, Miss Marjorie Hasler, Miss Kathleen Houston—who were sentenced, last July, to six months' imprisonment for breaking Government glass. The authorities have been most anxious to let them out, in accordance with a pretty general feeling in Dublin that their offence had been amply expiated; and it was said that the new Governor of Mountjoy, for some unknown reason, would not be installed in office until the prison was free of Suffragettes! But official red tape forbade Lord Aberdeen to move until formally appealed to; he had recently got into hot water for releasing, of his own motion, two boys who had been sentenced to three years reformatory for stealing two pennyworth of apples, and he could not again risk giving free expression to his humane feelings. So every effort was made, by those who knew Lord Aberdeen's mind and wanted to please him, to induce the prisoners to petition for release. The Chairman of the Visiting Justices came to urge them to do so, hinting that their request would be favourably received. They refused; they had full political privileges, and declared their intention of serving their full time without complaint. If Lord Aberdeen liked to give them a free pardon, that was his affair; but they would not ask him. Then attempts were made to get their friends outside to petition for them; but the prisoners had definitely asked that no such appeal should be made on their behalf, and the Irish Women's Franchise League felt bound to respect their wishes. Finally, however, a number of the jurymen who had convicted them signed a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, which was presented on Monday, and is expected to have an immediate effect."

ANNA PARNELL AND MILITANCY

The *Common Cause*, commenting on Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's leader of a fortnight ago, entitled "Our Policy," explains why the adherents of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies are not militant.

"It is not that, as some of our suffragette friends so obligingly assure us, we 'only don't go so far' as they do; it is that we are not going their way at all, because they have never been able to convince us that it is the right one. . . . Political results must be won by the use of votes, and women, until they have votes of their own, can only be served by those of men. The question for Suffragists, therefore, is how to influence the votes of men, and especially of those men who are Ministers, or who are powerful in the eyes of Ministers. That it is possible effectively to frighten them into doing what we wish we do not believe."

This is a point of view that we can understand, though we do not agree with it. What we do not understand is how, in the same issue of the *Common Cause*, a high tribute of praise is paid to Anna Parnell, and the question is asked—

"When Parnell was imprisoned was it not his sister, Anna Parnell, who formed the Irishwomen's Land League and saved the Nationalists' funds and kept the flag flying until Parnell was released?"

It was; and by what means? By defying law and order; by calling upon the Irish people to pay no rent; by challenging the Government to arrest her and her colleagues of the Ladies' Land League for their defiance of constitutional methods of agitation. Was it not Anna Parnell who held up Lord Spencer in Westmoreland Street, Dublin, by holding his horse's head and forcing him to listen while she addressed him on the miseries of Ireland? Michael Davitt, in "The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland," says of her that her "purpose and policy were to render Ireland ungovernable by coercion, and this she and her lieutenants succeeded completely in doing."

We fail to see how the *Common Cause* can consistently disapprove of militant methods and extol the memory of Anna Parnell on two consecutive pages of its current issue.

LIBERAL HOOLIGANISM

A Sequel to a Cabinet Minister's Meeting

A case of great interest to all militant Suffragists was heard at Bow County Court on November 1 before Judge Smyly, K.C., when Mr. Thomas Smithies Taylor, of Newarke Street, Leicester, a captain in the Army Service Corps (Territorial), brought an action for damages for assault against Mr. F. T. C. Bristow, Liberal agent, and Mr. J. H. Redman, ward secretary, both of Walthamstow, Mr. J. Shephard, of Woodford, and Mr. C. H. Pollard, of Walthamstow. The action arose out of the meeting addressed by Mr. Lloyd George last June at Woodford, when Suffragist interrupters were ejected with great violence, and strong comments appeared in the London and the local Press. We published some accounts from eye-witnesses in VOTES FOR WOMEN at the time.

The plaintiff alleged that on June 29 the defendants, by their servants or agents, assaulted him at The Harts, Woodford Green, by violently ejecting him from a marquee and attempting to duck him in a horse trough. The plaintiff lost his silk hat and gold spectacles, which were broken, and his silk umbrella, and he received injury. He claimed £3 16s. 6d. for the articles destroyed, and £50 as special damages. Mr. Arthur Powell, K.C., and Mr. Profumo appeared for the plaintiff; and the defendants were represented by Mr. H. A. McCardie and Mr. Field.

Mr. Powell said that there were originally seven defendants, but Mr. Kemsley, President of the Liberal Association, Mr. E. J. Davies, and Mr. E. C. Pittam had been since dismissed from the action. The meeting in question was organised by the Radical Association of Walthamstow, over which Sir John Simon presided, and at which Mr. Lloyd George spoke. The four defendants were members of a committee which had the direction of a small army of stewards. The plaintiff was a lifelong Liberal, and a person of strong convictions, one of which was that all persons who had paid taxes should have the power of voting for those who made those taxes. At the opening of the meeting Sir John Simon described Mr. Lloyd George as the great democratic champion of the time. This somewhat irritated the plaintiff, who, after Mr. Lloyd George had risen to speak, rose from his seat with the object of leaving. As he passed down the gangway he began to address the chairman. All he had said was "Mr. Chairman, I protest against Mr. Lloyd George being described ——" Then, counsel declared, he was seized by a number of men, his arms were pinioned, and he was hustled in a violent manner. Eighty yards from the marquee was a horse-trough, and men were preparing to duck him in this, but somebody had time to think better of it. In the struggle his silk hat was crushed, his gold eyeglasses smashed, and his umbrella lost. Outside he was assisted, someone lent him a cap, and he returned to London. Had the plaintiff desired to disturb the meeting he would have waited until Mr. Lloyd George made a telling point; but all he did was to object to Mr. Lloyd George being described as the greatest living democrat when he was withholding representation from taxpayers. Counsel then quoted a decision of Mr. Justice Avory in a recent case that if any stewards were expressly or impliedly authorised to suppress disturbances, and if any of these, exercising his own discretion, seized a man without lawful right, then their employers were responsible for the consequences.

The plaintiff then described what happened after he had uttered the words mentioned.

Were you ever told you could not stay, or requested to leave?—No.

How far from the horse-trough was the exit of the marquee?—About seventy yards. I was pushed violently against the narrow end of it, but I put my hands on the edge and prevented them from forcing me into it. Then someone said "Better draw the line at that." He was then pushed out of the grounds, and his assailants disappeared.

Cross-examined by Mr. McCardie, counsel for the defence, the plaintiff said he was a Liberal and a strong supporter of Woman Suffrage, that he did not interrupt Mr. Lloyd George, and his action was entirely spontaneous, that he did not stay in the meeting because he was too disgusted with what he had seen.

His Honour: What were you disgusted with?

The Plaintiff: The manner in which the women were treated. They were penned up behind a barrier and kept a long time while their tickets were examined. Some were refused admission, and I did not think that a very democratic proceeding.

Mr. J. A. Bartlett, who was present at the meeting, said there were several interrupters, and they looked half-killed when the stewards had done with them.

Mr. Swannell, of Leyton, also said that he told the stewards to be Englishmen. He was told to "shut his mouth," or he would be served in the same manner.

Mr. McCardie, for the defence, contended that there was no evidence against Pollard, who took no part in arranging the proceedings. Mr. Redman was present at one meeting only of the committee, at which it was agreed that 240 stewards should be appointed. As to Mr. Bristow, he was secretary, and was present at all the meetings. He made the same admission in the case of Shephard, but he contended that the effect of this was not to create the relation of master and servant, and that no contract between them and the stewards had been established. There was no contract between the committee and the stewards. The latter were not paid, and could have been absent. If that point were given against him, he submitted that a man could not in law be held responsible if the authority which he gave was carried out in an exaggerated way, as, for instance, what happened at the trough.

His Honour said that counsel had raised some very material questions of law, and he therefore reserved his decision.

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WOMEN AND THE WAR

In Epirus the inhabitants are revolting, and women are fighting fiercely against the Turks.—**Daily Sketch.**

By the withdrawal of the able-bodied men from the towns and villages in the Balkan States their women are being afforded a great opportunity for proving their resourcefulness. According to the report of a Frenchwoman who has just come from the Balkans, the bulk of women have determined that things shall go on in the States as if the men were present. Consequently they are to be found everywhere—working in the fields, transacting business in the shops, and conducting the ordinary affairs of the day usually left to the masculine half of the community. One practical woman in Sofia has organised a league of women whose members are pledged to look after the cleanliness of the town, so that the aged, the sick, and the young may not suffer from the consequences of neglected sanitation. — **Standard.**

In the course of an article on "The Modern Balkan Woman," which appeared in the *Standard* on November 4, E. M. writes:—The women of the Balkans come from a race of warriors; personal courage is reckoned among the highest virtues, and they are throwing themselves into the conflict with Turkey with the same enthusiasm that animated their ancestors. They have been facing this situation for years, and the societies they have founded for work in war are well organised. They will be found on the field with the Red Cross Society, and each State has its own associations of certificated nurses, composed of women of all classes. In Montenegro it has been the custom for women to carry the commissariat and ammunition, and they do active work in many other ways.

It is impossible to understand the spirit that is stirring in the Balkan States and in Turkey at the present day unless we give some thought to the movement which has been going on for many years among the women. The position of women has been gradually altering, but it has been little realised in Western Europe. Each State possesses a band of brilliant women whose lives are devoted to obtaining improvements in the laws, and who take a lead in questions of reform. They are making their influence felt in many ways, and women's position is slowly emerging from one of complete subservience to comparative liberty. This change is permeating the whole social conditions of the people.

Each State possesses societies of women founded to help their country in time of war, and to provide for the families of soldiers who have died in battle. . . . The question of the Suffrage has not reached an acute stage, but an agitation in favour of it is being carried on in every State, and the most important women's societies are pledged to it.

The British Red Cross Society yesterday received a telegram from Antivari, where the Montenegrin unit has already established a base hospital, requesting the society to send out some nurses, because among the wounded Montenegrins with whom the Red Cross hospital is now crowded are a number of women. This appears to confirm what has already been reported, namely, that women are fighting side by side with their men folk in the Montenegrin army.

Central News.

MACEDONIAN VOLUNTEERS LED BY A WOMAN STANDARD BEARER
Leaving Sofia for the Front

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EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Crossing the Bar

Signorina Teresa Labriola, who, as we stated some weeks ago in VOTES FOR WOMEN, is Italy's first woman advocate, has just been made the victim of the same prejudice that excludes Miss Christabel Pankhurst from practising at the Bar in this country. Although fully qualified, Signorina Labriola has just been refused the right, by the Supreme Court of Appeal at Rome, to carry on the profession of barrister, because she is a woman. What a contrast to such legal reaction is to be found in the appointment of a woman to be Solicitor-General in the State of Washington, U.S.A., a proof of enlightenment which has been shown by that State since women obtained the political vote there!

Californian Women Voters

It is interesting to learn that in California, where Woman Suffrage became law in October, 1911, women have during their one year of equal political rights with men, been made eligible for every public office in the State, including all administrative and judicial appointments; they have sat for the first time on commissions and juries, initiated the establishment of a police court for women at San Francisco, procured the appointment of women police, "tightened up" prohibition, and secured the appointment of State commissions of inquiry into the conditions of prisons, reformatories, and State hospitals. They are now endeavouring to procure the passage of Bills through the Legislature dealing with the abolition of child labour, the raising of the age of consent for girls to twenty-one years, equality of parentage, and pensions for necessitous mothers.

Will Hawaii Beat Great Britain?

It looks as though even Hawaiian women are going to be enfranchised before their British sisters. Since the proposal to amend the Constitution so as to admit of adult suffrage was passed by the Hawaiian Republican Convention last September, the question of the admission of women has been the chief subject of island conversation. Meetings are being held everywhere, and the native women are forming suffrage clubs among their own people. If the Reform becomes law, even a Hawaiian woman will lose her status on visiting Great Britain!

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CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL

On Friday last the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, of which, it will be remembered, the Second Reading was carried on June 10, and which was sent to a Standing Committee, reached the Report Stage in the House of Commons. The principal points dealt with were the power of arrest and the flogging of offenders. With regard to the first, the clause which dealt with the matter had been amended in committee, but as a result of widespread agitation in the country restoration in its original form was agreed to by the Home Secretary on behalf of the Government. The clause, unamended, gives a constable of any rank power to arrest without a warrant any person whom he suspects of offence against the Act of 1885 (relating to procuration). With regard to the second point, after a lengthy discussion, with the aid of the Government Whips, the anti-flogging amendment was negatived by 297 votes to 44, and then on a further division a proposal to permit the penalty of flogging in the case of first as well as of second offenders was carried by the narrow majority of 136 to 132. In this instance, although the Government had spoken against the amendment, the official Whips were not put on, and the division was of a non-party character.

The House of Commons also sat late on Tuesday night to advance the report stage of the Bill.

Mr. Snowden, M.P., writing on the debate in the *Christian Commonwealth*, says: "Some anti-suffrage members of the House of Commons are very active in supporting the interests of women in reform measures. This is a deliberate policy in order to provide an argument against giving the vote to women. It is the last line of defence against the oncoming of women into the possession of their rights. . . . Count Tolstoi once said that the rich were willing to do anything for the poor except to get off their backs, and the anti-suffragists now profess their anxiety to do everything the women want except to allow them to do it for themselves. . . . The Bill deals only with a few of the phases of this social purity problem. Other aspects of it . . . are urgently needing the attention of the Legislature. But these matters are likely to have to wait until women can exert an influence more direct than that of merely appealing to the justice and fairmindedness of men."

Why is it a Government Measure?

"P. W. W.," in the *Daily News*, says:—

Now that the House is in the thick of the struggle over women's suffrage the Bill must be considered in relation to that wider problem. Anti-suffragists hope that it may be a step in their policy of killing "the vote" by kindness. On the other hand, suffragists reply that the facilities would have been withheld as a matter of course if the other issue had not been imminent. Anyone who has watched the treatment of this class of legislation during the last half-dozen years can hardly avoid the conclusion that the defeat of weakening amendments to-day is the direct result of the franchise movement. . . . So remarkable a culmination of the Report Stage cannot but create a profound impression at a time when the influence of the women's movement on Parliament is a cardinal political fact.

A Labour Comment

Repression in itself holds out no hope of final solution. . . . If Parliament really desires to take a first step toward ending prostitution in all its forms it must get down to root causes and deal with them. "It is the economic position we have got to come down to if we would minimise this evil," said Mr. G. N. Barnes in Parliament. . . . Municipalities cannot solve the housing problem by shutting up slums and turning the occupants homeless into the street. No more can we cure the social evil by stringent regulations if we still permit sweating and poverty to offer women as victims to lust. **—Daily Citizen.**

The Root of the Evil

At a meeting held in the Bath Guildhall recently, to protest against the weakening of the White Slave Bill, a letter was read from Councillor J. W. Crook, regretting unavoidable absence and pointing out one of the real sources of the evil: "I heartily approve," he wrote, "of any measures to stop this abomination and disgrace. I do not think legislation is the perfect cure. Women must cease to be the victims of sweated and underpaid labour. When I read of shirt-making at 1s. 10d. per dozen, and the low wages paid, even in this city, life, with its semi-starvation and dreary monotony, makes many women easy victims to the promise of a merry life and plenty, though the end is terrible. Legislate by all means, but raise the standard of women's wages."

Speaking on the same subject at a meeting in Caxton Hall, Mr. F. W. Goldstone, M.P., pointed out that the establishment of a minimum wage for women and girls, and reasonable housing conditions, were as vital to the wiping out of the evil as any preventive legislation.

Interviewed by a Press representative, Mr. F. Handel Booth, M.P., is reported to have said of the victims of the White Slave Trade—"They are not a cause but a product. Consider the wretched wages some women earn!"

The Rev. G. F. Cartwright, speaking at Ipswich, again went to the root of the evil in demanding an equal code of morality for men and women. Let them pass the law by all means, he said, but what they, as men, required to do was to raise the tone of their brother men. What they wanted to do was to show to men and women that the moral law of purity was as binding upon a man as upon a woman. The prodigal son could come back as often as as he liked, but the prodigal daughter, once she had gone out, was lost for ever. This was not equitable.

At the same meeting Mrs. Morgan said that the girls who were in most danger were typists, domestics, and others, who ran great risks mainly because they were underpaid, and so were lured away by advertisements which showed that wages were high. She hoped that in the future a truer state of feeling would arise, when it would be possible to receive back into society poor lost prodigal daughters.

SCOTTISH ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

A public demonstration against Woman Suffrage was held by the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, last Friday. It was from the first, says the *Standard*, a remarkably undemonstrative gathering. As every ticket-holder was required to sign a declaration not to interrupt the speakers this would not appear to be surprising. The following letter was read from Mr. Asquith:—

"In view of the division of opinion which exists among my colleagues and in the Liberal party on the subject of women's suffrage, I have not thought and do not think it right to take an active part in the controversy in the country. My own personal opinion is unchanged—that the enfranchisement of women for the purposes of the Parliamentary vote would not be in the best interests either of women or of the State."

Earl Loreburn also wrote, expressing the hope that "this unfortunate proposal" would not pass into law without the question being referred to the electors.

Lord Glenconner, in the chair, said they rested their claim on the physical and immutable power of man, who by tradition, experience, and practice had been the ruling sex in all human societies for purposes of government and popular control. Man was willing and anxious to help woman in every good cause, but the ultimate decision must remain in the hands of men, in whom the executive and constitutional power must rest.

Earl Curzon moved the following resolution:—

> That the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects both socially and politically, ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate,

and recapitulated most of the well-known arguments against Woman Suffrage. It would endanger the welfare of the State and the Empire, and would weaken our hold on India. It would not solve the sex problem, suppress vice, or improve women's economic position. In the case of invasion would it be safe to entrust our destinies to persons of the political and mental stability of Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence? Lord Curzon concluded with two irrelevant statements: That in the Balkans to-day the war was being waged by men, and that women had work of greater importance than the Empire—they had to guard the womanhood of woman.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. A. MacCallum Scott. Two ladies who asked leave to propose an amendment were ejected by the stewards, and when the resolution was put many hands were raised against it. The chairman announced that it was carried "almost unanimously."

THE PLAY ACTORS' SOCIETY

On Sunday, November 10, at the Court Theatre, Ibsen's "Brand" will be given for the first time in England. It will be produced by Mr. W. G. Fay, the originator of the National Irish Theatre.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

This League will hold its annual matinée at the Lyceum Theatre on Friday, November 29. Tickets are on sale at the offices, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. (Telephone 1214 City.)

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COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is speaking in Knebworth Town Hall on Thursday evening, November 7, the Rev. Hugh Chapman in the chair.

We would remind our readers of the important meeting at the Kensington Town Hall to-night, Friday, at 8 p.m., the object of which is to welcome Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Charles Gray. The speakers will include Mr. H. D. Harben, Mrs. Lamartine Yates, and Mr. Reginald Pott, besides Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Gray. The Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, which is convening the meeting (13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.), should be applied to for tickets, 2s. numbered and reserved, 1s. and 6d. reserved.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Leeds on Tuesday, November 19 (for the M.P.U.); at Halifax on Thursday, December 5, and at a public reception convened by the Women's Tax Resistance League to honour Dr. and Mr. Wilks, at Caxton Hall next Monday evening, November 11, at 8 o'clock. Among the speakers will also be, in addition to Dr. and Mr. Mark Wilks, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., and Mrs. Despard. Tickets (2s. each, including refreshments) may be obtained from the Suffrage societies and at the offices of the Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., is announced to speak for the W.S.P.U. at the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon, November 11.

The speakers on the Actresses' Franchise League platform at the W.S.P.U. demonstration in Victoria Park on Sunday, November 10, will be Miss Victoria Drummond, Miss Janette Steer, Mrs. Veasey, Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley, Miss Margaret Damer, Miss Amy Winter, Mr. Reginald Pott, Miss Brackenbury, and Mr. Joseph Clayton. The chair will be taken by Miss Winifred Mayo. The New Constitutional Society and the Catholic Society call upon their members to support their respective speakers on that occasion. The chairman on the Cymric Suffrage Union platform will be Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, and it is intended to sing, "Hen Wlad fy Nhadau."

THE WOMEN'S MARCH

The "Brown Women" are expected to arrive in London on Saturday, November 16. In reply to the letter addressed to him by Mrs. de Fonblanque, announcing their arrival, and asking him to receive the petition to which signatures have been collected en route, the Prime Minister wrote that he would be happy to consider the petition for the enfranchisement of women which it was desired to present to him on the 16th, if sent to him through the post, but that he would not be able personally to receive it.

To this Mrs. de Fonblanque replied:

"In view of the fact that you decline personally to receive the petition, which has travelled four hundred miles, and which is too weighty to be sent by post, we beg to inform you that we will deliver the petition in a perfectly quiet and constitutional manner at your official residence, No. 10, Downing Street, on the afternoon of November 16, in order to relieve ourselves of the responsibility of this petition from the people."

We are asked to say that all societies and their branches are cordially invited to attend at the rallying point, Camden Town Tube Station, at 1.30 sharp, and to bring their banners, colours, group captains, and signed petitions (which must be delivered up to the London Petition Secretary outside Camden Town Tube Station), and there to await the arrival of the marchers.

On arrival at Trafalgar Square on November 16 the marchers and others will address a meeting (about 2.45).

Communications should be addressed to Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

"One of the Marchers" writes:—

We had marched to Tuxford, where we found the Market Place in possession of Mr. Tuby, with his merry-go-round and shooting gallery. He was exceedingly kind, and at five o'clock he left us holding a meeting with his merry-go-round as a platform. We steadied ourselves by holding on to a huge cock! The meeting was a great success. It was memorable as the first Suffrage meeting ever held in Tuxford.

On Monday the marchers, numbering fourteen, arrived at Newark, Nottinghamshire. Mrs. de Fonblanque relates that they met a group of men repairing telephone wires. Several signed their suffrage petition, but one who was at the top of the pole would not come down. "Will you sign it if I bring it up?" shouted Miss Ada Wright. "Yes," replied the man, whereupon Miss Wright climbed the pole and obtained the signature.

A WOMAN FIRE INSPECTOR

In view of the terrible fire in Kensington last Saturday, it is interesting to note that a woman, Miss Sarah Christopher, has recently been appointed fire-inspector in New York. Her special work is in connection with the clothing factories, in which some hundred thousand persons, most of them women and girls, are employed. Miss Christopher is described as keen, intelligent, fearless, determined, and tireless. A fireman of thirteen years' standing, who accompanied her on her first rounds, said of her: "There's little that'll get past her. I've never seen anyone smarter than she is." A woman fire inspector has been at work for some months in Brooklyn, New York. It seems probable that her excellent work weighed with the authorities in their selection of a woman for Manhattan.

ANOTHER MARK WILKS

The goods of Mr. J. A. Hall, of Glenamour, Waterloo Park, were sold last week, for the second time, owing to distraint having been levied on him in consequence of his refusal to pay Income Tax on house-property belonging to his wife. Mrs. Hall explained that this action was taken as the most practical and emphatic protest possible against the stupid and unjust action of the Revenue Authorities, who had forced the issue under the Income Tax Act. This Act, whilst making the husband liable for the payment of any tax on his wife's income, leaves him absolutely without any power to obtain from her any information with regard to her income if she declines to disclose it.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel has become President of the Women Writers' Suffrage League in succession to Miss Elizabeth Robins.

A Jewish Suffrage League has been formed, particulars of which will be given next week. Those wishing to join are asked to communicate with the Hon. Sec., Miss Ruth Franklin, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Being in Carlisle on Monday, October 21, when the Winter Assizes were held, I happened to pass the judge's lodgings when he was returning to the Courts after luncheon. I should have passed on, but remembered it was Judge Coleridge, and curiosity made me wait to look on the man "made acid with the law," as also the judge who ignored a jury's recommendation of "purity of intention."

I may say I could look with dispassionate eyes as regarded the prisoners he was returning to, as both had outraged girls under sixteen years of age, but I was disgusted later on to find that one had been acquitted on the ready plea of ignorance of age, and the other received the light sentence of three months' imprisonment, drunkenness being taken into consideration.—Yours, &c., A "RECORDER."

Miss Margaret Morris writes to express her regret that in her hurried conversation with our representative on the eve of her production at the Court Theatre last week, she omitted to pay a deserved tribute to Miss Annie Spong, to whom she owes a very great deal. Had it not been for Miss Spong, under whom she continued her training after Mr. Raymond Duncan went to America, Miss Morris tells us she would have been unable to complete her knowledge of Mr. Duncan's system of Hellenic dancing. We are glad to publish this tribute to Miss Annie Spong, whose services to the militant movement are already well-known to our readers.

We continue to receive letters endorsing that of "C. J." in VOTES FOR WOMEN of two weeks ago.

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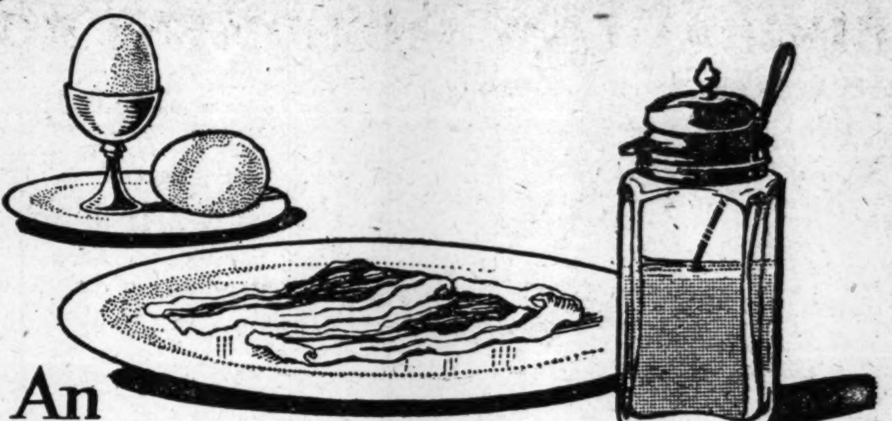

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